

For Dr. F. M. Gale
Respectfully

Gregory Henderson

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A Study in Korea's Intellectual History

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The internal political dissensions of the Yi period (1392-1910) provide a fruitful object of study for students of Korean history. Throughout all but its first decades they troubled the dynasty, eroding the effectiveness of government, introverting the intellectual concerns of the educated, narrowing access to needed new influences, producing social and political rifts which have become deeply ingrained. For all their faults, factional dissensions also brought marked political and intellectual stimulation, and are as important as any of Korea's native institutional phenomena for the formation of her modern political life. Ending only with Yi power in 1910, these struggles still echo under the surface of Korean society.

Despite the lack of analysis in English so far, there is much material bearing on the story of this long political warfare.¹ Source material was provided in bulk by the Korean scholar-officials who themselves waged the struggles. Control of government, of the land, and of economic privileges were certainly the prizes sought, and the methods employed were not always gloved but the combatants were highly literate and the arena usually literary and philosophic where entrants employed elegant and recondite phrases and where, to the superficial eye, at least, the impolite realities of power were not often allowed to intrude. Still, they did intrude enough for us to read the record. And the literary residue is great, an embarrassment of riches, a treasury also of puzzles. By and large, the scholars of no country have begun to exploit this material fully; Western scholars have not really started to exploit it at all. A piecemeal approach may be best; taking first the study of individual incidents, we shall be able eventually to unravel the many problems which stand between us and an understanding of Korea's long and complex factional-philosophic history. This paper seeks to examine one such incident and its intellectual consequences.

Viewed in the perspective of the internal history of the Yi period, the incident in question was not a decisive one; not one of the most famous or fought-over decisions of the time. Yet the defeat of Chǒng Ta-san and what he stood for may have an important bearing on the tragic failure of Korea to adapt herself

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¹ For reference on Yi-dynasty factionalism see Ko Kwǒn-sam^a, *Chosǒn chǒngch'i sa*^b [*History of Korean Politics*] (Seoul: Ŭlyu munhwa-sa, 1948), pp. 31-79; and Yi Pyǒng-do^c, *Kuksa taegwan*^d [*General Survey of National History*] (Seoul: Pomungak, 1956), pp. 381-390, 395-402.

to the forces of the late nineteenth century. Certainly the incident, taking place toward the end of the dynasty, suggests the political conditions and intellectual attitudes with which Korea faced the tides of modern influence.

The life of a remarkable man gives framework for this factional incident. His personal name was Chǒng Yak-yong^e, his more common pen name (*ho*), Ta-san^f,² his long life, 1762–1836, saw Korea on the brink of modern times. Chǒng was a scholar, philosopher, and official, born in Kwangju, Kyǒnggi Province, near Seoul, the son of a provincial governor. His family stemmed from the province of Chǒlla in southwestern Korea and has been, even until the present day, closely associated with the town of Naju.

Son of a scholar-official family, Ta-san was privately tutored, as was the custom of his class and time, and was from his youth acquainted with the scholarly pursuits of the age: literature, history, philosophy, mathematics, economics, and the calendar. His tutoring took place in his family and their circle, and was stamped with the strong views which this circle held on both philosophy and politics—both, since the one was inseparably connected with the other in the scholar-official tradition of the Yi period.

A consideration of the family traditions which were formative for Ta-san brings us deep into the political life of the Yi dynasty. Since the end of the fifteenth century, the Korean court and governing bureaucracy had been riven by factions. Both the cause and the history of these factions are complex, but for some time before Ta-san's birth the chief conflict was between two groups known as the Noron^k and the Namin^l. The families of both Ta-san's father and of his mother were prominent members of the Namin ("Southerners") faction.³ In earlier periods, the Namin had held the power in the state; but in 1694 the Noron faction had completely defeated it, cast its members into retirement, and bestowed on their descendants a legacy of opposition which was to last, with varying degrees of completeness, until the end of the dynasty. Among those who fell with the Namin was the grandfather of Ta-san's mother, a famous scholar-painter of practical philosophic tastes named Yun Tu-sǒ (*ho*: Kong-je)^m. This scholar possessed a library containing many works on geography and economics. Ta-san early had access to this library and owed much to it. Not only what was read but what was spoken determined the direction of his development. Those great families who were the core of the opposition kept closely together, intermarrying and teaching each others' children. We are told that Ta-san, while still a precocious child, came under the influence of the writings of one of the great opposition leaders—the great philosopher Yi Ik (*ho*: Sǒng-

² A recent and authoritative account of Chǒng Ta-san's life and work is the article by Professor Takahashi Tōru^z, "Tei Chazan no daigaku keisetsu"^h ("A Study on Tyǒng Da San's Philosophical Theory of Confucianism") in *Tenri daigaku gakuho*, VII, No. 1 (Oct. 1955), 1–19. To this article and its author for much memorable conversation, I acknowledge a deep debt of gratitude. Cf. also Yi Sǒng-gyuⁱ, "Chǒng Yak-yong," a biography in *Chosǒn myǒngin jǒn*ⁱ [*Biographies of Korean Eminent*] (Seoul: Chosǒn ilbo ch'ulp'an-sa, 1939).

³ So called because the houses of many of the leaders who formed this faction were located in the southern part of the city of Seoul. The term has no relation to the concept of "South Korea."

ho)ⁿ,⁴ one of the founders in Korea of a great Sino-Korean philosophic movement associated in the Ch'ing with the School of Han Learning and in both countries with opposition to the government and philosophic and administrative criticism of the established Chinese and Korean regimes. This movement, in whose tradition Ta-san was educated, eschewed the abstract philosophic speculations then current and brought factual examination and critical proof to bear on real phenomena.

While Ta-san was still young, a political development of importance for his later career occurred. The Korean King Chǒngjo (reigned 1777-1800), broke with the post-1694 Yi tradition proscribing the elevation to high position of Namin adherents and gave official advancement to a Namin leader, Ch'ae Che-gong^o, a man so brilliant that, despite his faction, he succeeded in winning and retaining the King's personal favor. Ch'ae was promoted to the highest positions and was able to bring into the government under his protection other Namin members. Among those appointed was Chǒng's father. Another family recipient of favor was the Yi family of Yǒju, Ta-san's teachers and potent influences on his life. While the stage was thus set for Ta-san, still a precocious young scholar, to be appointed with a good chance for advancement, there were already portents that a young Namin career might be of brief duration. Che-gong's success and the rise of his group created immediate opposition and increasingly bitter jealousy from the opposing Noron faction. Even among the Namin there was a conservative group opposed to Che-gong. From the time of Che-gong's rise on, a constant search for pretexts to overthrow him was going on among his enemies. Even before Ta-san's time, the Namin were accused of unorthodox and possibly even non-Confucian intellectual influences.

Such were the auspices under which Ta-san's career started. In 1789, during the reign of Chǒngjo, Ta-san passed the civil examinations with great honor; the King himself is reported to have been much impressed by the young man's original interpretations of the great Korean philosophers. Ta-san was given official appointment, at first to a junior position which even a Namin member might hold without incurring Noron jealousy. Showing ability in each post, he rose rapidly. In 1792, he was assigned to the Confucian Academy and, in the winter of that year, submitted, at the King's order, the construction plans for the walls and palaces of the emergency capital at Suwǒn which remain to this day his greatest visible monument. With these plans he likewise provided descriptions of how to use the crane and pulley.⁵ Using these—for Korea—revolutionary methods, considerable expense was saved. From that day on, Ta-san was a favorite with the King, was rapidly promoted, became Councilor of the Military Board, and attained a number of fine posts and honors. He was constantly consulted in secret council by the King, and his opinions were of great influence. He was a frequent user of the royal library and printing office, and was allowed to read rare and valuable books, both Korean and foreign, belonging to the King's personal collection. Among these appear to have been some books

⁴ For Yi Ik (1682-1765), see biography in *Chosǒn myǒngin jǒn*, pp. 333-336.

⁵ *Chosǒn myǒngin jǒn*, p. 324.

reflecting Western influence or at least mentioning Western activities and religion as they affected China. Such records seem to have been included in the reports exchanged annually with the tribute missions to and from the throne at Peking. Such books were not for public consumption, and the privilege—and even the danger—of reading them was greater than it might appear. For though Korea was the first country in the world to develop wide use of movable-type printing for books, the concept of the printed word as a means of general, popular dissemination was unknown; exclusiveness and strict control of information remained unquestioned after centuries of printing in Korea. It was, indeed, in the Yi atmosphere of jealous surveillance over intellectual life and the printed word that Ta-san fell into the trap constructed by his enemies.

While he was still young and far from controlling the court, Ta-san's rise had whetted the envy of the Noron faction. The champions of the ecumenical Confucian orthodoxy of the Sung philosopher, Chu Hsi, which had been the pillar of the Yi regime since the middle of the sixteenth century, if not before, this faction regarded the practical scientific ideas of Ta-san somewhat as earlier Catholics had regarded the experiments of Galileo. In the narrow and highly isolationist Korean world of the time, Ta-san's very reading and broad culture probably raised eyebrows. Between Ta-san's inquiring and experimental instinct and the vested conservatism of the older court ranks, the lines formed and a crisis loomed.

The issue, when it came, proved to be symptomatic of this inbred atmosphere. Yi Ka-hwan, the most illustrious member of the Yöju Yi family⁶ at whose knees Ta-san had studied, had become his brother-in-law, a status which, in Korean society, usually meant very close brotherly ties. Ka-hwan's own brother-in-law was, in 1783, appointed Ambassador (i.e., head of the annual tribute mission) to Peking. The new Ambassador's son, Yi Sŭng-hun⁷, who had been studying with Ta-san and other friends for the civil examinations, joined his father's mission. Before leaving, this young man had apparently come in contact with a Korean who knew something of Catholicism and was very anxious to know more. Interested himself, and at the behest of his friend, young Yi visited one of the Catholic churches then established in Peking. There he talked at length with the priests, told them about his country and the difficulties and dangers of establishing contact with it, became an enthusiastic convert (Korea's first), and returned home with copies of the Chinese Bible and other Western books, determined to spread his new-found faith. The letters written to Rome about these conversations by the Catholic fathers whom Yi Sŭng-hun met are among the earliest Western sources on Korea.⁷

Any such foreign contacts had to be carried on in the greatest secrecy in the

⁶ Yöju is a town not far southeast of Seoul. The family relations in this incident throw much light on the ingrown, tightly-woven composition of the factions.

⁷ Akagi Nihei, "Chōsen ni okeru tenshukyō no ryūnyū to tenrei mondai ni tsuite" ("Über das Einfließen des Christentums in Korea und die Ritusfrage"), *Shigaku zasshi*, LI (1940), 716-717. Yi Sŭng-hun was baptized in 1782 by the Portuguese priest in Peking known as Mgr. Alexandre de Gouvea.

Korea of that time; the events and persons involved in the introduction of Christianity into Korea are, with all due deference to the good Abbé Dallet,⁸ still shrouded in much mystery. Exactly what books besides the Bible were brought in is uncertain. Some materials on Western philosophy and science seem to have been included. It seems apparent that Western philosophy and theology caused much excitement among the young men of a society keyed to philosophical studies, that Western scientific learning impressed Ka-hwan's circle—and perhaps Ta-san in particular—and that, possibly, the illicit character of this learning added to its attractiveness. Under the guise of preparation for the official examinations, the new books were devoured by Ta-san and his circle. Their content and, to some extent, the Catholic faith itself, seem to have made considerable progress among his friends and family. Ka-hwan himself became a Catholic convert and translated the Bible into Korean. At least one of Ta-san's brothers seems also to have entered the faith. There has been for the hundred and fifty years since much argument as to whether Ta-san himself became a Christian secretly or not.⁹ The evidence will probably never be conclusive. It is more important to note two things, first, that Ta-san was certainly a Confucian in a far deeper sense than he was a Christian, secondly, that his ideas and accomplishments do appear to show some Western and Christian influence. Philosophically, Ta-san's un-Confucian belief in some sort of a Creator is the most frequently cited example of apparent Christian influence on him.

In the succeeding years, Christian activity increased in Korea. Chinese and even disguised French priests stole across the border, secreted themselves in the Korean countryside, and, apparently successfully, proselytized. This early success, under such extraordinarily difficult conditions, is interesting. Christianity has always been proportionately far more successful in Korea than in China or Japan.¹⁰ In later years, its success was partly a function of protest against the Japanese. It is interesting to speculate that its success in the eighteenth century may also have indicated popular dissatisfaction with the Yi regime. However this may be, its activities increased the tenseness of the political atmosphere at the Korean court and added fuel to the flames of the factions. In 1795, a Chinese Catholic priest hid himself in Seoul.¹¹ At the same time, evidence of pleas by Korean Christians for outside help against the Yi Dynasty are said to have been uncovered. The discovery of these Christian "cells" gave rise to a new wave of reaction against all those suspected of some contact with

⁸ Abbé Charles Dallet, *Histoire de l'Église de Corée*, (Paris, 1874), pp. 13-36. In his desire to glorify the early history of Catholicism in Korea, the Abbé appears to have dilated on his sources considerably.

⁹ Takahashi Tōru, pp. 4-7. Most of Chōng's relatives and descendants were Catholics.

¹⁰ The number of Christians in Korea today is reported as 166,732 Catholics and 849,608 Protestants (includes Presbyterians, Methodists, and Holiness Church only), see *Hanguk yōngam* [Korea Annual] (1956), p. 300; whereas Japanese Christians number 271,399 Catholics and 246,232 Protestants, see *Kirisutokyō nenkan* [Christian Annual] (1956), p. 492.

¹¹ The priest's name was Chou Wen-mou (in Korean, Chu Mun-mo)^a. For this incident see Dallet, pp. 69-81, and Yi Nūng-hwa, *Chosŏn kidokkyo kŭp oegyo sa* [History of Korean Christianity and Diplomacy] (Seoul, 1925), I, 138-145.

Western thought. Ta-san and his brothers all came in for sharp criticism for playing with the fire of non-Confucian thought and Western influence. The Noron faction, in its long search for a pretext to discredit Ta-san, now had its weapon. Ta-san was accused by persistent "rumor" of harboring Christian germs, of perhaps secretly plotting to overthrow the regime itself. As evidence, the Christian conversion of his brother and some of his friends was brought against him—a clear case of guilt by association. Ta-san's mention, in one of his own works, of a Creator was also cited. His malefactors argued that Ta-san, behind a usually healthy Confucian exterior, was dangerously infected with seditious Christian doctrine.

To allay criticism, to afford opportunity for further investigation, and to test his fidelity, Chǒngjo sent Ta-san as magistrate to the minor district of Kūmjǒng,¹² whose inhabitants were among those influenced by Christianity. There, Ta-san was successful in admonishing the people to return to their traditional ways. Within the year, he was recalled to Seoul as Vice Chief Secretary of the King's Secretariat. The tongues of his enemies could not be silenced. Perhaps they used the time to gather small pieces of evidence or fabrication. Ta-san again "fell from the capital" and was sent as magistrate to Koksan. Again in grace, he was recalled to Seoul in 1796 and made Councilor of the Board of Punishments, where his decisions became known for their clarity and soundness of judgment. In 1799, however, the great Namin official Ch'ae Che-gong died, followed the next year by King Chǒngjo. Ta-san lost in them his great protectors. The Noron worked untiringly to establish itself with the next king, Sunjo, and Ta-san's position rapidly became untenable. He submitted his resignation and, with his brothers, returned to Sǒch'ŏn,¹³ where he taught and studied the Classics in a study which he named "The Hall of Hesitations."

He was not to be left in peace. In 1801, with the Noron in complete and vindictive control, charges were brought against him and he was twice imprisoned. His Christian brother was executed; another brother was exiled to a small island. Ta-san himself, though actually given a death sentence, was reprieved for lack of evidence and exiled to Kangjin. Around 1808, through the intercession of friendly officials, he was permitted to move to the place in Chǒlla Province from which he took his most famous pen name, Ta-san. Here he lived the life of a retired literatus in a mountain pavilion owned by a sympathetic colleague; he made a pond and garden, planted trees and flowers, led a stream into the grounds, and contrived a waterfall, which long were famous. In the east and west pavilions was a library of one thousand volumes, and he gave himself up to uninterrupted study and writing. In 1810, his son appealed his father's sentence. In 1818, another appeal was made; it was sustained and all charges were removed. So the incident had ended and had opened the way for Ta-san's accomplishments in literature and thought. For the remaining years of his long life, the aging philosopher read, wrote, and traveled, dying in 1836 at the age of seventy-five.

¹² A district in South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province near the west coast.

¹³ A village near the town of Kwangju, Kyŏnggi Province, near Seoul. Ta-san was born in this neighborhood.

No Korean author, certainly none of his stature, is the peer of Ta-san in scholarly productivity. On Confucian classics, his main theme, he wrote two hundred and thirty fascicles (*kwŏn*): on politics some seventy-eight, on phonetics some fifty, on geography forty-two; there are eighteen fascicles of poetry and some twenty others on medicine and other subjects.¹⁴ Besides these there are unpublished manuscripts. Outstanding among his writings is the *Mongmin simsŏ*² [*A True Guide to Governing the People*], a compendium on administration finished in 1824 when the author was sixty-three years of age. Even in modern format, Ta-san's works would run to scores of Western-style volumes. Not in fecundity alone but in the quality, incisiveness, and modernity of his thought Ta-san is outstanding and is probably to be accounted the most commanding and original thinker in Korea's intellectual history.

The study of this history is still in its infancy, and the significance of Ta-san's work has yet to be fully described and appraised. A brief, preliminary appraisal requires some examination of Yi-dynasty philosophy and its relation to contemporary Chinese currents of thought.

The regime which Yi Tae-jo began in 1392 was founded on the rock of complete acceptance of Ming policies and philosophy. Ming thought generally espoused the interpretation of the Chinese classics formulated by Chu Hsi as orthodox. Korea followed suit with the enthusiasm of the convert. Far more, even, than in Ming China, the word of Chu Hsi in Korea was law; one could criticise Confucius if necessary, but Chu Hsi was beyond cavil or doubt. Criticism of Chu Hsi in Korea was tantamount to subversion against the state power from which few in the narrow peninsula could escape.

After the fall of the Ming, China's most vital intellectual traditions became disenchanting with Chu Hsi orthodoxy. The fall of the world's largest nation to a small outside power of inferior culture led serious Chinese thinkers to question, to attack, and to revise the thought of the fallen empire. In an almost protestant reaction, the Ch'ing scholars returned to ancient texts, urged study that would be critical and objective, argued for state theories that would be more practical, inveighed against the abstract, intuitional orthodoxy of Chu Hsi. Allied to this reaction was the political position of the famous Ch'ing scholars—one of opposition to the conservative Manchu regime.

Korea in general, had no such dynastic break, no such dramatic stimulus to re-examine her adopted orthodoxy. Allegiance to Chu Hsi held on, sanctified by unbroken dynastic tradition. Hence the main intellectual currents of Korea increasingly diverged from those of China after the Ming period.

Still, though it lacked the breadth and conviction it had among the Ch'ing scholars, a minority Korean opposition to the orthodox philosophy did develop. The Manchu victory did cast a certain shadow over the peninsula; several scholars like Yi Ik asked whether Korea's disdain of the Ch'ing and spiritual allegiance to defeated Ming ideals was either practical or constructive. Even

¹⁴ Among the most important of these are: *Kyŏngse yup'yo*¹ on economics; *Aŏn kakpi*² on philology; *Hŏmhŏm sinsŏ*³ on politics, and *Abang kan'gyŏk ko*⁴ on geography. On Ta-san's medical works, see Chŏng In-bo, "Ta-san sŏnsaeng ŏi saeng'ae wa ŏpch'ŏk," *Tamwŏn kukhak sanjo* (Seoul, 1955).

more compelling were the pressures of internal politics and the factions. Officials were no longer appointed by merit but were degraded or rewarded by factional victory. Frequently the most gifted scholars were the most likely to be vilified, as in the instance of Ta-san. The Korean political system thus bred its own opposition. In the nature of Confucian behavior, the retired official wrote and, inevitably, criticized the established order which had rejected him. Retreating from the jealous eyes of the capital his study lay in a rural community. Here was the origin of the "grass-roof protest" which was so important a part of Korea's intellectual traditions.

Ta-san was the greatest of the "grass-roof protesters" of Korea. He was fortunate in being, in a sense, linked to two great Confucian opposition movements: that of the Ch'ing and that of his own Namin faction, which already included such names as Yi Sŏng-ho (Yi Ik), An Chŏng-bok (Sun-am), Hong Tae-yŏng, Pak Chi-wŏn, Yu Hyang-wŏn (Pan-ge), and Pak Che-ga. Added to these influences was a strong instinct for government trained by national, class, and family traditions and seasoned in career. Ability, learning, an encompassing curiosity, and the tart of unjust exile drove Ta-san to detail the wrongs he saw, to give them systematic analysis, sharp correction.

In so doing, Ta-san borrowed from both Ch'ing and Western thought. In a manner almost reminiscent of the thinkers of the European Renaissance he took from various new intellectual streams, applied his borrowings to philosophy and practical problems alike, and achieved a little of that striking combination of scope and versatility which we admire in the sixteenth-century Italians. Sadly, Ta-san's political defeat and his culture's traditional hostility to technology frustrated more of those practical applications in engineering and architecture which were so striking in Europe. Suwŏn's fortifications, almost alone, remain of Ta-san's efforts in technology. Yet the stimulus to practical creativity was there. Ta-san succeeded in making a clear break with the Yi period's endless philosophical speculations on the nature of the "ether," "form," and "matter." An instinct for the practical, a plea that ethics, principles, and government should be useful to men, runs like a metallic thread through all his works.

Criticism is the other penchant of his thought. He came by it both naturally and traditionally. Defeat, exile, and a critical nature were his personal goads; the Ch'ing School of Han Learning and his own Namin tradition were his intellectual precedents. In his works, criticism and new inquiry constantly combine. His theory of a Creator was both Christian-influenced and an implied criticism of Chu Hsi's static world; earlier posited, more widely accepted, it might have borne philosophic, even scientific fruit. The thousand illustrations of bad government in the *Mongmin simsŏ* are manifestly drawn from experience with Yi administration; the corrections to them which Ta-san formulated show an immediacy and objectivity not typical of Yi thought—a stimulus, perhaps, from the School of Han Learning. Most striking and modern of all was his *Yŏjŏngŏ*, a thesis on landholding and operation in which Ta-san developed a theory of rural community landownership. Postulating a collective farm system designed to increase the quality and quantity of production and ensure greater

equity in distribution, Ta-san suggested allotting the total product to the farmers on the basis of the amount of labor contributed by them, a certain percentage being allocated first for taxes. Here again, the protest against Yi social inequities is clear, the influence of ideas from outside Korea highly probable.¹⁵

A man so critical and inquiring in his own time has aroused renewed interest in recent years. North Korean scholars in farfetched attempts to find native precedent for communist programs have fastened on the *Yŏjŏngo* as an adumbration of the kolkhoz and present his poetry as that of a kind of pre-communist social reformer. The real importance of Ta-san's work as a whole is quite different. It shows us that the rigidity of Yi-dynasty thought was not absolute, that some foreign influence did enter to generate the beginnings of what could have been a new outlook. The incipiently scientific thought of Ta-san, properly nurtured, might have provided an effective mental framework to which Koreans could have referred in the traumatic days of adaptation to Western culture.

Unhappily, Ta-san's thought could not succeed in putting down strong roots in late Yi soil. Even his own group, the Namin, succumbed to the general intellectual decline after Ta-san and turned to jealous and petty politicking. The phenomenon of Ta-san became a curiosity within his own culture. A curiosity, but an arresting one which, however abortive, gives us a unique revelation—one is tempted to say *exposé*—of the operation of the Yi political system in all its details.

The details are vivid. We know what governors did when they left Seoul for their posts, whom they bribed and how much, how they made trips, who paid the bills, who met them on arrival, and with what sort of welcome, with what dishes and music they were entertained, and who approached them for favors. It is not a novel; but it is at times as cohesive and coolly analyzed as Stendhal. It is in no sense a democratic treatise, despite its rather pious title. Yet we see that every mistake, each piece in the anatomy of corruption, is an added burden on a farming people which can bear no more. There is pungency and bite behind the stately Confucian periods; Ta-san's advocacy of unsentimental reform had the instincts of a Swift.

Not that there was no nonsense about him. Like certain of the old squire literati of Europe, he shared some of the superstitions, formality, and love of ceremony of his age. He is worried about the number of paces distance from which the governor's household should bow to greet him, how they should be arranged, in what direction they should face. He takes processions seriously and prescribes what banners should be carried. Manners and their symbols were important; he was not a radical in minor ways. He dealt with life as he knew it. One senses

¹⁵ Takahashi Tōru, "Chōsen gakusha no tochi heibun setsu to kyōsan setsu," ["Korean Scholars' Theory of Equal Land Division and the Communist Theory"] in *Hattori sensei kōgi shukuga kinen rombun shū* (Tokyo, 1936), has an excellent discussion of the various views involved. A recent North Korean translation of passages from the *Yŏjŏngo* with comment is: Ch'oe Ik-han, "Chŏng Ta-san chakp'um jŏn" in *Chosŏn munhak*, No. 4 (April 1956), pp. 124-143. (The same magazine contains an article by Yun Se-p'yŏng, "Chŏng Ta-san kwa kŭ ŭi siga," translating certain poems of Ta-san which, the author believes, afford insight into social and political conditions.)

his recognition of a system in the society around him and an appraisal of the function of that system. If he accepts its embellishments, it is with remarkable critical reserve. Processions are good, but no presents should be accepted en route. Flags are commendable, but too many will cost too much. And so his model governor goes, winding down the narrow path between ineffective reticence and burdensome extravagance. In the study of Yi-dynasty politics, nothing is more instructive than what Ta-san tells us about how this path was bounded.

Ta-san could inveigh, publish, and prescribe social medication. But he could not reform the Yi system. Ingrained in its ways, increasingly monopolized by an ingrown social caste, ever more widely and openly corrupt, the *ancien régime* lingered on, unable either to reform itself within the Confucian pattern or to read the import of the new tides from the West. Ta-san also did not live to see their fullness; his life was fretted in their earliest ripples in his country. It is interesting to speculate on what might have happened had his broader and more practical view prevailed with his dynasty. Not even a host of Ta-san's could, surely, have saved Yi power. Yet more men of Ta-san's ilk would almost certainly have written constructive chapters into the record of Korea's adaptation to the West; they might well have prolonged Korea's independent existence. Even today, long after Confucianism has yielded place to the West as the prime cultural influence on Korea, Ta-san's social consciousness and pragmatic thought retain a certain pertinence.

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| a 高樞三 | h 丁茶山の大學經說 | n 李瀛(星湖) | t 經世遺表 |
| b 朝鮮政治史 | i 李昇圭 | o 蔡濟恭 | u 雅言覺非 |
| c 李丙燾 | j 朝鮮名人傳 | p 李承薰 | v 欽欽新書 |
| d 國史大觀 | k 老論 | q 周文謨 | w 我邦疆域考 |
| e 丁若鏞 | l 南人 | r 李能和 | x 牧民心書 |
| f 茶山 | m 尹斗緒(恭齋) | s 朝鮮基督教及外交史 | y 岡田考 |
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abroad and hold qualified membership at home?

The *Independent* publishes the following interesting note from the Rev. H. G. Appenzeller, of the Methodist mission in Seoul, Korea, under date of September 13:

Western medical science has reached the throne of Korea, and both the king and queen are now treated by foreign doctors. The "Korean Government Hospital," in charge of Drs. H. N. Allen and J. W. Heron, has been such a success among the natives as to recommend itself favorably to the attention of his majesty. The king, from the beginning of the medical work here, has taken a lively interest in it, and the doctors had but to make their wishes known to him and their requests were granted. For some months past the king received medicines from Dr. Allen at his private office. During the recent cholera epidemic his majesty sent for a large supply of carbolic acid. Dr. Annie J. Ellers came to Seoul under the auspices of the Presbyterian Missionary Society, in July. In August the queen was taken sick, and Miss Ellers was sent for and has been very successful in her treatment. The native court physicians have been dismissed from the palace, and our doctors have thus a clear path before them.

"The Church at Home and Abroad," Presby. Bd. of Publication,
General Assembly, PCUSA, Philadelphia,
Vol. I, January, 1887, p. 76

Handwritten text at the top of the page, possibly a title or header, which is mostly illegible due to fading and blurring.

The cause of religious liberty in Korea has undoubtedly been retarded by the attempt of France some months ago to secure a treaty clause granting full religious toleration. It was a failure, the bare proposal having caused much excitement and opposition in official circles. The old edicts are still in force, and it is thought that Koreans embracing Christianity might even be in danger of death.

On the other hand, while no open preaching is allowed, the quiet exertion of personal influence with individuals is evidently treated with connivance. No signs or placards which indicate Christian propagandism are tolerated. Mission schools, however, have been started and hospitals established, and an orphanage has been founded under even enthusiastic royal sanction. While the schools of the missionaries are watched to see whether there is any endeavor to teach religion, private conversations are not disallowed.

Our United States minister, Capt. William H. Parker, has taken a step in advance by opening the first public religious service in the English language at the American Legation. This is a right granted by treaty, and is undoubtedly justifiable.

*"The Church of Korea by Edward, P. C., U. S. A., Philadelphia, Pa.
Vol. I, Apr., 1887, p. 357"*

"Women + Missions"

MRS. ARTHUR G. WELBON

While her husband in response to a cablegram was on his way to the United States from Chosen, Mrs. Arthur G. Welbon, missionary in Chosen for twenty-six years, died at Maryville, Tenn., July 20.

Mrs. Welbon (Sadie Harvey Nourse) was born July 2, 1872, at Cairo, W. Va. She was appointed to Chosen Mission in 1899. There she met Mr. Welbon and they were married in 1901. Her interest in the pioneer missionary task of her husband, itinerating and establishing classes and churches in the country districts, gave her great opportunity to meet the women. While her husband talked to the men, she gathered the women about her and taught them and learned their needs. But it was this very work which exhausted her vitality. Exposure to all kinds of weather, added to the heavy physical strain of climbing steep mountain trails and fording streams finally broke her splendid strength. In one year she covered 3,000 miles of hard country travel. In 1919 she was forced to return home, and has been in the United States ever since.

Mrs. Welbon is survived by her husband and children.

1925, Sept.

P. 233

NEWS FROM THE FRONT

CHOSEN

p 223

MISS JANE SAMUEL writes from SYEN CHUN: The work here is perforated with empty spots where Miss Helstrom has been working so faithfully and well. These spots need her now more than ever. I have been able to have eight large country and circuit classes—in various combinations with our two Biblewomen, we've had seventeen classes. Our troubles with smoke, charcoal fumes, cold, crowds, etc., are all over. Next Monday we begin our Bible Institute in a perfectly comfortable building. We are now buying land for our Dormitories. We are glad to report that our new Government has assured us that the school can continue, so we are proceeding with our plans. The most interesting feature of our fall classes each year is the annual meeting of our Women's Missionary Society, a popular meeting where their own missionaries gave interesting reports and an executive meeting where all the reports were received and next year's work planned. They are supporting twelve out of the eighteen missionaries supported by our Presbytery. I have been interested in hearing how they get the money, for Korean women have no money. One young woman whose family wouldn't let her have money for the missionary society got ten eggs and gave them to a poor woman nearby; when the chickens were big enough to sell, they divided the profits and both became members of the missionary society. One old lady wanted to belong here but couldn't earn anything and hadn't a thing to sell. Her brother thought she needed a new skirt, and gave her one *yen*. "Joy!" says the old lady, "I don't need a new skirt, I'll give my money to the missionary society." One old lady who was very ill said, "I am ashamed to go before my Lord without ever belonging to the missionary society. The only thing I have is a brass rice

bowl—I'll not need it again, sell it and give the money to the missionary society." So she was a member for several days before going home.

KOREA.

There has been trouble again in Korea, and matters there are quite unsettled. The last excitement was caused by an attempt on the part of the Chinese representative at Seoul to accomplish the death of four of the most enlightened and trusty men in the country. His object was evidently to get these men out of the way so that no one of influence and ability could be found to oppose the Chinese claims to sovereignty and the various schemes to thwart the will of the people. It is probable that the result will be the opposite of what was intended, and the man who originated all the trouble will be deprived of his position and power in Korea.

The missionary work in the land is looking more and more hopeful. Dr. Allen has been decorated for his distinguished services, and is honored with the position of third rank in the kingdom. He is thus enabled to visit the palace and attend the king in person, and Miss Ellers, M.D., attends the queen. In this way the confidence of those highest in power is being secured, and the hatred and prejudice of the past will be removed.

It has been predicted that if the king and queen would only become Christians all the nation would follow. That the first may be the case is among the possibilities of the future. The missionaries at Seoul need our most earnest prayers for wisdom and grace to guide them in their important position.

*"The Church at Home and Abroad," Presby. Ch., U.S.A.,
Phila., Pa., Vol. I, Jan., 1837, p. 93*

WEAR FOREIGN COSTUMES

It adds much to the interest when missionaries wear their "foreign" costumes while speaking. A newly organized group of Westminster Guild girls in California gazed with joy at Miss Jean Delmarter (one of their dinner guests) in her fascinating Korean white dress, carrying her chop-sticks in their embroidered chop-stick bag. Rare joy it was to watch Miss Delmarter eating with chop-sticks what they were eating with forks. It cost the missionary very little trouble and not the least embarrassment, and the eighteen girls know decidedly more about Korea than they would have known had she just talked to them about her beloved field.

1926

P. 433

PRACTICAL CONFUCIANISM AND PRACTICAL CHRISTIANITY
IN KOREA.

BY REV. SAMUEL A. MOFFETT, PYENG YANG.

On a recent trip to this, the second city of Korea, I rested on the Lord's day in a small village, where I witnessed what gave me an insight into the utter heartlessness of heathenism. Soon after breakfast my boy came in saying that there was a poor fellow dying out on the roadside. Going out, I found a man somewhat past sixty years of age lying on a rough litter. He was covered with frost, having lain there all night, and was very weak, though able to talk. Upon inquiry I learned that he had been taken sick on the road five days before, and that, according to the custom which now prevails, he had been placed upon this litter by the men of the nearest village, and by them carried to the next village, where he was dropped at the side of the road. The people of this village, in turn fearing lest he should die on their hands and his spirit remain to haunt them and work them mischief, hurried him on. Thus the poor man had been carried from village to village, left to lie all night in the rain or frost without covering, without food, or medicine, or any attention beyond that of being roughly carried on and dropped again. For five days he had been so treated, and his strength was almost gone. I suggested that some one give him food; but no, not one was so minded; so buying a table of food I fed him with some rice-water. After eating a little the old man looked up gratefully, saying, "Now I shall live," and then he pleaded to be taken care of for two or three days, until he should have strength to go on. I urged the people to give me a room where he might be made comfortable, promising to pay for his food and fuel. They flatly refused, and were preparing to carry him on. Turning from them I spoke to him of Christ, of forgiveness of sin, and relief from pain. He seemed to understand, and brightened up a little. After praying with him I turned again to the people and said some pretty plain things about their murdering the man. This seemed to arouse their consciences a little, and the spokesman of the village began to talk of finding a room. Asking me about his food, he named an exorbitant sum as necessary in order to keep him a few days. I agreed to furnish the amount, and told them to prepare the room while I went to get the money.

Entering my room at the inn several followed, saying that it was very kind in me to thus care for the man, but that the people did not want to take him in. Again I urged and offered more money, but while talking others came in to say that they had already carried the man off. They had gone but a few miles when the poor fellow died, and there they buried him.

Talking to those people, I felt like a prophet of old as I told them of

a judgment to come, and called upon them to repent ere they were e. before God to answer for the deed of that day. However, pity rather than indignation fills my mind as I think of this poor, degraded people, even their sense of humanity blunted under the system of misgovernment and oppression and the teachings of those who are professed Confucianists.

Not long after this I passed along the main street of this city of Pyeung Yang and witnessed another incident revealing the degradation of this people. Before me were a lot of boys tugging away at ropes attached to a straw mat, in which was the body of a man who had just died on the street. The boys were shouting and laughing and making gay sport as they dragged this corpse along. This took place on the main street of the capital of the province, the boys being the errand boys of the merchants, who sat among their wares laughing at the frolic the boys were having.

Upon returning to my rooms I spoke of what I had seen, and was told by my boy that the night before he had seen an old man lying in front of one of the main public buildings on this street. The old man had just been thrust out of an inn and left to die on the streets on that bitterly cold night. It may have been this body that I saw thus dragged through the streets, but I am told that such cases are not so infrequent but that there may have been two in one day.

Is this practical Confucianism which professes to pay the greatest respect to the aged and to the dead? This is not an exceptional case, such as might occur in the slums of a large city, but it took place in the sight of all on the main street in the city, where dwells the governor, who in his zeal for Confucianism has recently established anew a Confucian school.

Christianity has not as yet very many adherents in Korea, but already these few show a greatly different spirit from the above. Last January, in this probably the most wicked city in Korea, it was my privilege to baptize eight men, giving us a church of ten members. They had been instructed in the Gospel for several months, had endured abuse and insult with courage and with a truly Christ-like spirit, and they soon showed that they had been imbued with the practical spirit of Christianity. Before they had been in the church a month they came to me with the proposition that the first use of the little money they had contributed should be for the care of a little orphan child dying of starvation. I gladly accepted the proposition, eager to encourage them in their Christ-like spirit. Thus practical Christianity is manifesting itself in Korea. Theoretical Confucianism contrasted with Christianity in a Parliament of Religions at *Chicago* is one thing; practical Confucianism illustrated in *Korea* is quite another.

Nation," the short history of Protestant Missions in that country is one of the brightest and most promising that can be found in all the annals of pioneer work. Rumors and sensational reports of mobs, persecutions, etc., have repeatedly helped to fill a column in the newspapers, so that almost the first question which a returned missionary is asked is "But do you not find a great deal of government opposition?" The simple fact however is that hitherto very little of such opposition has ever been met.

Two of the most open and outspoken missionary workers in Seoul, one a Presbyterian and the other a Methodist, once took a trip together in the interior. Though they made no secret of their object, they were treated with the highest honor by the governors and magistrates through whose districts they passed. One high official in particular, whose son had just returned from the government school in Seoul and who therefore must have known perfectly what their character and business were, sent them presents of the choicest dainties and loaded them with every attention. Upon their return one of them was waited upon by the highest dignitaries of the state and urged to take charge of the government school where the sons of the noblest families are educated.

Later, the same missionary made another trip to the extreme north. After spending about ten days in one of the largest cities, he called before leaving upon the governor of the place. His Excellency apologized for not having himself called upon the missionary, and remarked that he understood that Mr. ——— had been distributing a great many good books and that he was greatly indebted to him.

Again, when one of our native Christians was arrested and thrown into prison by a provincial magistrate, his superior in Seoul made the amplest apologies, ordered the man

NO CALL FOR TIMIDITY IN KOREA.

MRS. H. G. UNDERWOOD, SEOUL.

Although Korea has always been considered the most exclusive of nations, has, indeed, come to be generally known as the "Hermit

1872
 The Journal of H. G. Underwood, 1872

released and feasted, and tried to explain the matter to the missionary by saying that the official who had caused the arrest had been a long time in the interior of the country, remote from the capital, and did not understand affairs.

In the very early history of Mission work in Korea, a colporteur who had been seized and whose books had been confiscated was set free with only an admonition to sell no more. A few days later his books were all privately returned by the official himself, in person, who told the man to go on with the good work, but to be careful.

Some of the heathen youths at the Hospital school, which is under government control, complained to the president of the hospital that one of their companions was a Christian (their real objection to him was on quite different grounds) and requested his dismissal. The president replied, "Your teacher also is a Christian, but he is none the worse for that, and if you do not like to remain in the school with the young man, you may leave." He refused to dismiss the young convert.

Not only do we enjoy the good-will of high officials; we have received many tokens of royal favor. It is not without significance that the King and Queen on the royal birthdays and national holidays send to the physicians of the Presbyterian Mission ample presents of beef, pheasants, fruits, etc., the same as those sent to the Korean officials. They have also sent generous wedding presents and other gifts to the lady physicians who have treated Her Majesty. It is true that these physicians were in a certain sense Korean officials, but there is no mistaking the feeling of good will, passing easily into tolerance and confidence, which such acts indicate. Another instance of a similar character occurs to me.

When Her Majesty, the Queen, after strictly secluding herself for two years, finally gave an audience, she invited the ladies of the legations and consulates, omitting others of high rank, but her invitation expressly included the Presbyterian woman physician and the wife of the Presbyterian hospital physician. To realize the full significance of this, one needs to understand that throughout the East missionaries are usually considered inferior in rank to all officials and are very rarely invited to official entertainments of any kind.

Although public religious services are held several times a week in the Mission compound with singing which can be heard all through the neighborhood, and the people make no secret of their coming or going, and though government officials often call at our house, making numerous inquiries about our work which are always frankly answered, no one has ever laid hands on any of the native worshippers, nor have they ever been threatened or forbidden to attend the services. It is true that in 1888 a note was sent to the consulates asking that Christian teaching be stopped, but as Korea just then had the best reasons for hostility to the French Jesuits and could not frown upon them without a pretence of silencing us also, we concluded that this admonition was never intended except to save appearances, nor has it ever been other than a dead letter. The Korean Government has shown and we are confident, feels no hostility toward Protestant missions, but for political reasons they prefer that we should not force our doings upon their official cognizance too openly. Nor is this necessary. There is more work ready at our hands than in many a day, alas! we can find hands for, and when that work is done, the way will be cleared for more.

We regret that Mrs. Underwood has been obliged on account of ill health to return from Korea, and we hope that her stay in the home land may be everything she desires.

Although Mrs. Underwood herself has not been able to engage in public speaking, Mr. Underwood has thoroughly magnetized many audiences and has enlisted several workers for his mission field.

Miss Susan Doty is working bravely in the Girls' school, which is steadily progressing. She writes that the little girls are very nice, only just naughty to be interesting — about half of them are over ten years of age, the rest are younger. Chowgu, who was the oldest pupil, is married and is now in the school, teaching the Korean written language. She also studies and teaches the Bible.

The Christmas time was very pleasant, the children all had presents, some of them given by friends there. One gentleman in the political circle sent a large amount of candy, and another friend gave each of the girls a bright new waist, better than she had ever had before. The magic lantern sent out by the Nebraska ladies is a source of great pleasure. Miss Doty says: "It is all just right. The lantern does beautifully and the selection of slides is a good one."

While the mission was on the mountains during August there were many opportunities of presenting Christ as a Savior to the poor old ignorant men and women who came in from the country to see the missionaries. Miss Doty writes: "As one of our number told them of Jesus, the look that came over the face of one, I can describe in no other way than by the passage, 'Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?'"

Korea has been called the Infant Mission, and we rejoice that the vigorous cries for help are meeting with such hearty response.

Dr. and Mrs. Brown went out late last fall. Dr. Brown is a brother of our Dr. Mary Brown in Wei Hien, China.

Miss Victoria C. Arbuckle is under appointment by the Assembly's Board to assist Miss Doty. She is a sister of Mrs. Iddings, in Guatemala.

Besides these there is quite a delegation from McCormick Seminary who expect to sail in August.

O ye gates!" upon receiving this note; at the same time I almost trembled with a sense of my responsibility. And when I took my seat on the covering spread in the "aung paung" and looked around on the richly dressed ladies and waiting maids, I longed to tell them the wonderful, sweet story of "Jesus and his love;" but such a step would be dangerous in the present state of affairs, so I could only pray the Lord to give me a place in the hearts of these people, that I might soon be able to influence them for Him. I talked to the ladies about different kinds of embroidery and chucked the babies under the chin. Mr. Yi soon brought in his beautiful little child-wife in her wedding dress, as he told me. It was an elegant, scarlet, brocaded silk. Her head was covered with ornaments of gold, and pearls, and jade, and her little hands were laden with a large number of

rings. Mr. Yi was very polite to her, and evidently proud of her, but she was so shy that it was some time before she ventured to look at me. I could not help feeling sorry for the little thing and longing to have her set free — out in the sunshine, with hoop and skipping-rope, and merry boys and girls for company.

I cannot tell half the strange, rich things I saw in this queer, heathen home, nor of the bountiful feast placed before me and the decorous hospitality of my hostess; but I must say these Korean ladies are, in their own way, very charming, and seem to possess both refinement and strength of character.

I am sure the time is not far off when we shall be allowed to teach them of Jesus.

Hattie G. Heron.

BEHIND SEALED DOORS IN KOREA.

Mr. Yi Hahkuin is the son of a Korean gentleman of considerable means. Though only fifteen years old, Mr. Yi has taken a course of study in the Government school, speaks a little English, has a position in the royal hospital, wears his hair on the top of his head, and has been the husband of a beautiful little black-eyed girl for more than a year.

A short time ago I invited Mr. Yi to bring his mother to visit me, never dreaming that his father would trust his wife in the house of a foreigner; for all Korean ladies (except dancing girls) are kept in the strictest seclusion. The "*aung paung*," or women's apartments, are shut off from the front of the house, and have double shutters for the windows. When these ladies go away from home (which is not often the case) their covered chairs are carried inside the court, and the chair men all retire until the lady has taken her seat and the door is carefully shut and curtains drawn.

Great was my surprise when Mr. Yi thanked me and said he would like to have his mother visit me. A few days after, I received a note, saying he would bring his mother and his father's other wife in the afternoon, if agreeable.

About one o'clock in came the two chairs, followed by servants, and when Mr. Yi had

seen that the men were all safely out of sight, and Dr. Heron was not at home, the maids opened the chair doors and out came two very gorgeous-looking ladies, attired in long, full, silk robes of blue and pink, with dainty slippers to match. I found my guests dignified and ladylike in every way, partaking of the refreshments I offered in a very dainty manner. They were greatly pleased with the chairs, the mirror and bed, while my sewing machine and organ were marvellous things in their eyes, and Mrs. Yi, the elder, told me she had lived to be forty-seven years old and had never before seen such strange things. They seemed to enjoy their visit, tea-cakes and all, and the next day I received this note from Mr. Yi:

DEAR MRS. HERON.—As I come to my house I had been important business, and I cannot call you and Doctor. My mother had been pleased the foreign house, so she very glad about, and she wants to invite you on to-morrow morning about 12 o'clock, so I ask if you busy or not. If you not busy on to-morrow, will you be so kindly to step round to my house and see how we live. Then we are very glad to see you.

I am yours sincerely,

YI HAHKUIN.

I felt like shouting, "Lift up your heads,

Original, 1886
MS. 82, 83
"Mentem. w. side for M. mentem..."
Vol. I.

KOREA.

From Korea come the same reports, which bring to us both encouragement and discouragement; encouragement, because there are so many calls, both for new lines of work at the old stations, and for more workers to man new places; discouragement, because there are so few missionaries to answer these calls.

Dr. Lillias Horton Underwood writes from Seoul: "The work among the women is most promising of all. They come to our homes, and are delighted to have us go to theirs. They seem to accept the sweet comforts and blessings of the gospel, far more readily than the men, perhaps because their burdens are so much heavier, and their lives so much darker and more cheerless.

Dr. Underwood, with all her intense longing to help and bless these people, has been kept from service, this winter, by a very severe attack of rheumatism. Mr. Underwood has gone through the streets with the little wagon, full of medicine and tracts, and has himself treated many of the sick, often referring the more difficult cases to his wife. A little son, who came into their home in September, has brought light and joy to Mrs. Underwood in spite of her sufferings.

Miss Doty is assisting Mrs. Gifford in the Girls' school. There are now eight little pupils, who are learning sewing, cooking and all the household arts, beside their lessons from books. It is the aim of their teachers to make them Christian Koreans, not Americans, hence no English is taught in the school, and Chinese and their native dialect are the only languages which they study. Miss Doty, too, speaks of new opportunities for work, saying: "The way opens farther and faster than we are able to enter." After a year's acquaintance with the Koreans, she finds them kind, polite, respectful to elders and superiors, and possessed of fine natural discrimination in judging of character. Surely a nation possessing these traits is worthy of the Gospel!

10th Annual Report, Women's Board of Missions, The Northwest, Chicago - April, 1891 - pp 81, 82



Vol. IV, July, 1927 THE BEAUTIFUL MOUNTAIN REGION OF SOUTH CHINA

July, 1927

"Women + Missions"

pp. 135-138

An Analysis of Causes

By Robert E. Speer

A survey of the crisis in China was presented to the General Assembly at San Francisco by Dr. Robert E. Speer, senior secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions. Dr. Speer recently returned from a personal tour of the Christian missions in China and prepared a manuscript of many pages exhaustively reviewing conditions in that country. Following are extracts from Dr. Speer's survey.

CHINA is a contradiction and only time will show which is true, that China is a unity or that China is not and never will be a unity and must fall apart, or that she will be a diversified unity like America. It ill becomes us, with our motto of "E pluribus unum" and constant struggle between our diversity and our unity, or Great Britain with its four diverse nationalities and many dialects in its three small islands alone, to cavil over the reality of China's unity. She is torn by many divergent forces and she needs great unifying principles such as only Christianity can give her, but she has the cohesion of race and of history and, one believes, of a great destiny.

As to general disorder and lawlessness it is easy to give a wrong impression in either direction. We went about altogether unmolested, losing nothing through robbery, meeting with no discourtesy and seeing no crime or outlawry. One would have been nearer to all these things in America. On the other hand, it cannot be said that any part of China is now under just, effective and responsible government, and wide sections of China are overrun by robber bands. Many of the

soldiers are only militarized brigands or the brigands are often only disbanded soldiers who can get no foothold in the economic structure of China's life. In some districts whole villages and Christian churches have been wiped out. The constant overthrow of authorities has relaxed the enforcement of law.

Some Chinese, and westerners, too, are disposed to lay the blame for this wretched internecine warfare in China upon foreign influence, upon foreign loans or subsidies, foreign importation of arms. There seems to have been some importation of war materials for which the west must accept the guilt, but there are great arsenals all over China, owned, equipped and directed by the Chinese themselves, and it is from these that the war supplies chiefly come. Foreign influence, barring Russia's, is all against this warfare which is ruining China and the financial support comes not from abroad but from iniquitous and merciless taxation, anticipating the payments of years to come, and from the railways which were built for China's economic welfare and which the war lords are rapidly destroying, and from opium.

A great question is as to the extent to which the Nationalist movement is or will be dominated by Russian or communistic influences. Is this movement using these influences, intending when it has secured all it wants from them to discard them, or are they using it, intending to keep their hold on it and to direct it to their own ends? In all our conversations we met no communists or socialists whatever. All with whom we talked maintained that when the Nationalist movement had got all it needed from Russian advice or financial help or from the use of communism in arousing and organizing popular feeling, it would throw them off.

There are white Russian military advisers and some thousands of Russian soldiers as mercenaries with General Chang of Shantung. There are red Russian influences at work in Peking and Shanghai and they represent one of the most powerful forces in the Cantonese movement.

But in spite of all fictions and confusion and inward contradictions, the National movement in China is real and true. The Cantonese development may or may not be the germ of a true and ordered national life, but sooner or later a competent central government will be achieved. There is no company of qualified and equipped leaders such as carried the American Revolution and the Japan restoration to success, and at present many of the men who might be such leaders, whether from wise prudence or from timidity, dare not speak. Many capable and honest men of true patriotism are unable to do more than speak bravely and act honestly in private life. The political movement is not yet sufficiently free and true to give them room for public action. But the iron bars are broken or breaking and the great tides of life are running and flowing. As soon as China's energies are focused upon the fundamental political problem of the reorganization and reform of her governmental institutions from top to bottom, as necessitated by the impossibility of ever restoring the old order, the immensity of her task will appear and also the long and wonderful progress which is ahead of her will begin.

Sooner or later some one should undertake a careful, dispassionate and yet sympathetic study of the whole question of

the relation of Christian missions and of Christianity in China to the Chinese government and to western governments and to the treaties between them. When it was contended at a meeting which we attended that missions should not concern themselves with the treaties or with the international problem because missions should not be involved in politics, a Chinese Christian replied that the purpose of the present discussion was not to involve missions in politics but to extricate them. Probably the discussions of the past years have worked in both directions. Some of them have tended to extricate and some to implicate.

From the point of view of missions the essential thing is the genuine recognition of the principle of religious liberty. At the outset the so-called toleration clauses were only that. They were not unequal. They were the acknowledgment of equality. All other religions were free in China. Christianity was not. These clauses did nothing more in terms than make Christianity free. They put Christianity in China on the same basis on which Buddhism and Confucianism stood and stand in the United States. The matter might have been stated reciprocally as it is in the Treaty of 1920 between the United States and Siam, but China at the time had no care for such a statement. We do not believe it is an infringement of any nation's sovereignty to recognize the principle of religious liberty in its treaties.

It ought, of course, to be unnecessary and all that ought to be expected today is that a responsible China will establish this principle really and irrevocably in her constitution and statute law. At present there are no such guarantees. There is no constitution of China at the present time. There have been four constitutions, 1912, 1913, 1914 and 1923 but none of these is in force and in not one of them are the guarantees sufficiently comprehensive or absolute.

When we came away from China the situation was that the whole of southern China was uncertain as to the policy of the government and that in central and northern China there were no constitutional guarantees whatever. At the same time there was religious freedom almost

everywhere resting on the tradition of the past, and even more on the broad, tolerant spirit and good common sense of the Chinese people, and to an extent, their genuine appreciation of Christianity and the Christian church and the Christian missionary. It is clear that it must be the concern of the Christian church in China to secure and if need be to give its life to secure the complete and unlimited right of religious liberty.

Looking at China from without, the social fabric seems as yet to have been little affected. There are, of course, superficial changes. In all the cities and towns where we went the queues were almost entirely gone. Footbinding unfortunately has been little modified. The mission schools oppose it, but public sentiment still supports it and careful observers in country and village see no diminution of it. The opium habit, which has been China's greatest social and economic curse, has come back in full force. Foreign nations have their share of guilt and many Chinese are bravely fighting against the growing evil.

The central social question relates to family life. The strength of China has been the family organization. But at the same time the family has also been one great source of China's weakness. The problem today is how to preserve the good elements of social solidarity and interdependence and responsibility, which the old collective family life supplied, and escape from the killing burden which it imposed on initiative and individual freedom. It has made nepotism a curse in every department of life, including the Christian church. It made marriage a piece of race mechanism. It is today crushing the life out of many men who have to carry an impossible load of intolerance and inefficiency. Once again only time will show whether in the social evolution which has already begun the evils of the historic institution of the family in China can be left behind without leaving its good also or how, if the whole thing goes, something better can be substituted.

There can be no question of the reality of the vast social transformation represented in the students of China. The social, intellectual and moral changes taking

place in them are the doom of the old China. They must be made the hope of the new. There have been times during the past three years when Chinese and foreigners alike were forced to doubt whether these students would be China's hope or China's despair, when the destinies of a great nation, the most populous on earth, were being determined by boys and girls not yet out of high school or even elementary schools.

At the present time the development of public education in China is interrupted. With the return of order and cessation of wars, the development of public education will be resumed on a scale unprecedented in history. Meanwhile the mission schools have been filled with students. They have provided the best education available in China and they have maintained discipline as the government schools and most other private schools have not.

The attitude of government education and its leaders toward philosophical and religious questions is rationalistic. The strength of the rationalistic view, however, does not save Confucianism. Whether or not the general tendency of Confucianism is rationalistic and agnostic, there is general testimony and obvious evidence that the influence of Confucianism is waning. The beautiful temples are falling into ruin. This time the rebuilding is dubious. One sees soldiers quartered in them everywhere and sleeping even in the niches from which the sacred tablets have been removed. Classical scholarship also is diminishing, and missionary colleges have a great duty, which they recognize, to aid in saving it.

But if Confucianism is a diminishing power in China and sure to dwindle further and further, there is diversity of testimony with regard to Buddhism. In many places Buddhist and Taoist temples have been neglected or destroyed. I think the testimony we received, based on the personal knowledge of the witnesses, was adverse to the idea of any extensive revival of Buddhism.

There is, of course, anti-foreign feeling in China. So is there in the United States. Political parties and national organizations have arisen on it. There has been and is feeling against Asiatics

and Europeans and Latin Americans and this feeling enters into politics, legislation and religion. There is ampler explanation for such feeling in China's history than there is in ours. It is doubtful whether this feeling in China is any stronger than it has been. Some Chinese declare that it is always present and that it is universal and can be evoked whenever special provocation comes. Others hold that it does not exist in any such form, that the Chinese are as susceptible to the idea of universal brotherhood as any other race and that the outburst of the recent years has not been and is not a national antipathy but largely a political instrument for the creation of a sense of national unity and duty and interest, and that it is altogether amenable to dissolution and is even now dissolving.

We believe the Chinese to be as responsive to justice and kindness as any other race and as capable both of humanity and of Christianity.

The anti-Christian movement is both good and evil. It is good as indicating a living concern, whether this concern springs from true or false criticism of Christianity. It is evil to the extent that it rests on untrue conceptions of Christianity or of the history of the past century in China and in China's relations with the west, or in so far as either it or the reactions which it meets in the Christian ranks in China embody an unequal and partial diagnosis of the relations of the west to China. This is a situation which it is hard to see whole and which patriotic spirits in China may be pardoned for not seeing whole. But not seeing things whole, from the other side as well as one's own, brings its own certain self-punishment. There has been both good and bad on both sides as between China and the west, and nothing is to be gained from hate or antagonism or recrimination. The only road of hope and peace is in good will and understanding and in self-conformity on each side to the absolute standards of truth and righteousness. So far as missions and the Christian church in China are immediately concerned as missions and as a church, the anti-Christian movement will do great good if it leads them to the purest and simplest conceptions of the gospel of the

New Testament, and the presentation of those conceptions with love and power and Christlikeness to the Chinese.

The primary and central question in missionary work in China is the question of church and mission relations. Perhaps it is too much primary and central, but in the present circumstances of both church and missions this is inevitable.

The national element enters on both sides. The mission is a foreign mission and the church is a native church. Nothing can alter this fact. There is, of course, a true sense in which Christianity is supernational, but the organized Christian church is not supernational. The church in each nation cannot but partake of the life and temper of the nation. It would be lamentable if it did not share it as a living part of it and a living, national power within it. Part of the difficulty of the situation in China has been that the church was charged with being an unnational and foreign agency. It is both natural and right that the church should disavow and seek to escape from such accusations. There is no escape from this reproach. The churches must simply live it down and naturalize Christianity in China not by China-izing Christianity but by Christianizing China.

Our board and its missions in China have shared heartily in the movement of cooperation and union. The movement in China contemplates the union of the Presbyterian, Reformed, Congregational, United Brethren and a number of independent congregations of the Reformed faith. The new union will be the largest and strongest and most nearly national church in China. All the elements involved are independent ecclesiastically of any western church and the problem is accordingly wholly in the hands and under the control of the Chinese churches, save as they may voluntarily rely upon missionary counsel.

No one can face the facts in these lands and not see that the end of foreign missions is nowhere in sight. In China the unreached people and villages are innumerable. Single stations in Shantung are responsible for evangelizing from one to four million people each. And there are also unreached classes. Christian work must go on!

WOMEN and MISSIONS

JANUARY, 1929

The Greatest Enterprise in the World

By Charles R. Erdman

Dr. Erdman is president of the Board of Foreign Missions and a former moderator of General Assembly. He is also professor of practical theology at Princeton Theological Seminary.

JANUARY has come to be known as Foreign Missions Month, and its return fixes the thought of our church upon the most significant, the most influential, the most thrilling enterprise in the world. During this month the Week of Prayer, special offerings, pulpit appeals, the organization of schools for mission study, and many other activities will present to us anew the task and the triumphs of those who are bringing the gospel of Christ to all the nations.

This enterprise has its critics, its difficulties, its discouragements, but it has too its heroic achievements, its widening influence and its high hopes. Never has there been a time when Christian missions have been so vigorously advanced and so vitally related to great national movements on all the continents of the globe.

However, the revolution in China, and specifically the tragedy of Nanking, have led to a new attack upon the whole missionary enterprise. The alleged failure of foreign missions has been widely advertised. After the outbreak at Nanking, the public press intimated that one hundred million dollars worth of missionary property had been swept away, and that the further evangelization of China had been abandoned. Even in Christian circles where such absurd rumors were discredited, discouragement has been felt. There has been a definite, if gradual, diminishing of gifts. Some nominal

friends of missions are growing indifferent and antagonistic to the cause. Instead of the old battle songs such as "Onward Christian soldiers . . . on to victory," some disheartened supporters of missions are singing "Lead, kindly light, amid the encircling gloom."

This, however, is no time for fear, for retreat, or for dismay. The dawning of the new year should summon every thoughtful Christian to look out upon the wide field and to see that in every land great victories are being won. Unprecedented advance is being made. Events are taking place which should convince the most skeptical as to the success of this great enterprise. We should all consider anew the surpassing importance of the task, its divine origin, its high purpose, its noble achievements and its glorious prospects.

It is, indeed, an extensive enterprise. A Presbyterian minister who had begun his voyage to visit the mission stations of the world became acquainted with a passenger from San Francisco, a wealthy business man, partner in a shipping firm doing business around the world. After several days' acquaintance he was asked by his new friend as to his line of work. He replied, "I represent a firm doing business around the world, as does your shipping firm. We have about \$225,000,000 invested in the Orient, we employ nearly 30,000 agents, and our income last year was over \$30,000,000."

"Why," exclaimed the business man, "you must be with the Standard Oil Company."

"Oh, no," was the reply, "our company is much older and larger than the Standard Oil. It has a contract for lighting the whole world." Then in answer to the look of surprise which this remark occasioned, he explained, "I am a representative of the Christian Church, going out to see the missionaries at work on the fields. You know, Jesus Christ is the Light of the World and he has commissioned his church to give that light to the whole world. That is the biggest contract that ever was let."

The business man looked puzzled for a moment, and then said, "Are those figures true?"

"Yes," was the reply. "You will find an article recently published by a business man in a popular monthly which summarizes the foreign missionary enterprise of the whole Christian Church at double the figures which I have given you for Protestant foreign missions."

It is true that Christ has given such a contract to his church. It is no mere platitude to assert that in furthering the missionary enterprise we are performing a divinely given task. This work is done in obedience to the command of our Lord.

It will be remembered that in a recent debate Lord Inchcape of England attributed all the troubles in China to the influence of foreign missionaries. The Bishop of Salisbury in his reply stated that he was glad to have been reminded by something he had said that Lord Inchcape was a Christian. He added, however, "How then can he express views clearly contrary to what Christ taught? How can we believe in incarnation and not want the world to hear about it?" This is a fair question. How can one claim to be a follower of Christ and then disregard his command to "make disciples of all nations"?

It is always encouraging to remember that we are engaged in a work which has a divine origin and that we are going forth not to fulfill any human dream or to engage in a work of our own devising. We have a living Lord. We are seeking to do his bidding. The very

turnmoil and perplexity in China voice to us anew the call of our Master. We are unwilling to accept any provincial view of our Lord. We regard him as belonging to no one race or nation. He came to meet a universal need. His gospel is for the whole world. His salvation is offered to all mankind. Even if he had given no explicit command, the very nature of his mission and the character of his work make it evident that in proclaiming his gospel in all the world we are showing loyalty to his will.

The purpose of this enterprise has been well stated as follows, and this statement intimates to us anew the practical and lofty aim of the work to which we are called. "The supreme and controlling aim of foreign missions is to make the Lord Jesus known to all men as their Divine Savior and to persuade them to become his disciples; to gather these disciples into Christian churches which shall be self-propagating, self-supporting and self governing; to cooperate so long as necessary with these churches in the evangelizing of their countrymen and in bringing to bear on all human life the spirit and principles of Christ."

It is evident, therefore, that the purpose of this enterprise is not to impose western civilization on the Orient. We are not attempting to educate the nations of the world, nor are we promising to provide necessary medical and surgical aid. Education and physical relief show the Spirit of Christ, but are not the real ends of our works. Whatever instruments and methods may be employed our purpose is to bring men into vital fellowship with Christ and to establish in every land the Church of Christ, and then to aid these churches in making Christ known to all men.

Thus at the present time we rejoice in the very claims of independence which the churches of mission lands are making. The church of China is being severely tested, but as in the days of the Boxer uprising, it is standing the test with heroism and faith. Yet, whether in China or in other lands, these infant churches are pitifully in need of our cooperation and help. The withdrawal of missionary forces or the lessening of missionary operations in any country would be a



STREET IN NATIVE CITY OF SHANGHAI

Cop. right L. M. Newman

calamity to the Christian cause. This was the tragic mistake which was made in the Hawaiian Islands. Just at the time when missions seemed so successful in transforming savage tribes into Christian communities the missionaries were withdrawn, and the weakening of the work, the injury to the churches, the loss of power which resulted has been a warning to Christian workers in other fields during the past half century. The descendants of those early Hawaiian missionaries are now undertaking anew the work which might have been completed fifty years ago had the church at that time taken advantage of its position and strengthened instead of weakening the missionary forces. The spirit of independence, almost universal among churches of mission lands, is occasioning many serious problems, but it is a sign of power and a prophecy of growth, and it should be regarded as an appeal for strengthening of the missionary front.

In South America the students and the more intellectual classes in Catholic countries are eagerly welcoming the fair and rational and sympathetic presentation of the true gospel. In India the great mass movements and the weakening caste system are calling for Christian leaders and evangelists. In Japan the enthronement of the new Emperor is giving new hope to all who see in him the leader of an era of even further enlightenment, of

larger religious liberties and of greater freedom of thought and action. In Persia, in Korea and in Turkey there are likewise promises of more liberty in teaching the Bible in institutions from which such study had been prohibited by law. From every field come tidings of new converts to Christ and of the strengthening of the Christian communities. The commission from our Board of Foreign Missions which has recently visited the work in West Africa tells us, by way of example, of what has been achieved in such a station as Bafia:

"It was here that only twelve years ago native tribes declared a truce for market day by taking human life. Some one, old or young, was designated by the headman of the tribe as the sacrifice, and both tribes set to with cutlasses and claimed their bit of human flesh before the trading began." The people were naked savages, dwelling in mud huts, with no knowledge of God or of His laws. At such a station, this year our representatives were present at a church service where 3,000 Christian adherents, with decent dress and demeanor, attended the service in a Christian church. More than 2,000 are under definite Christian instruction with a view to baptism, while more than 200, after careful instruction, have been enrolled as church members.

Such results are to be found in varying character and degrees in every part

of the mission field and no investment could be named which will bear more immediate returns than money which is spent in this glorious enterprise. A business man from America recently made a tour of the world. He declared that some years ago when his fortune had begun to increase rapidly he decided to devote a fair portion to Christian work, but stipulated that no enterprise should be supported outside his own city where his fortune had been made. A little later he became interested in educational institutions in his state. Subsequently his horizon was broadened to include work in the western portion of our land. Then he enjoyed a world tour, and he gave his testimony in the following words: "When at length I saw the missionary institution of Persia, I said, 'Thank God I am an American, and I now know the work in which it is worth while to invest.'"

The prospects which lie ahead of enterprise are as bright as the promise of God. There are discouragements. There is seen in some quarters a lessening of interest. Some of us may miss our opportunities. Some of us may not enjoy the privileges which are offered to us. But the task is certain of success. The time will come when the kingdoms of this world will become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ. The coming of another year summons us to a consecration of ourselves to the work which has been entrusted to us by our Lord, and which, in His gracious providence, He has linked to the fulfillment of His divine purpose for the world. We can go forward with confidence. In our Lord's own time the bells of some new year's day will "ring out the thousand wars of old" and "ring in the thousand years of peace."

Our Greatest Single Task (Women's Work for Women vol. XXIX Jan. 1914)

IF one were to search for a master-key to the situation in China at the present time, he would probably find it in Yuen Shi Kai. The political situation, and to a certain extent the religious situation, is affected in no small measure by the influence of this man. If, in some way, we could get to the inner mind of this remarkable man and know the thoughts which are filling it, we could interpret with some certainty the direction which the great forces now at work in this new Republic will take. As it is, we must confine ourselves to noting certain acts in his career which, like straws, may determine for us the current of his thought and the probable bearing of his future influence, which is sure to be great and likely to be wise.

We must never forget that Yuen Shi Kai was trained in the old school of both Chinese politics and literature. He has been a soldier, trained to govern in the stern ways which hitherto have seemed necessary in Asiatic nations. Moreover, there are many acts in his career which have two possible interpretations. His enemies say he is a trimmer, and constantly question his sincerity. His friends believe him to be a man who has masterly power in harmonizing opposing forces.

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the edict of the Empress Dowager to exterminate the foreigners, but rather protected them in every way within his power. The breadth and openness of his mind was indicated a little later when he invited Rev. W. M. Hayes, D.D., to leave the presidency of Shantung Christian University and establish a Government College at Tsinanfu, the capital of the Province of Shantung, permitting Dr. Hayes to call in from various parts of the Empire as his assistants the strongest and most earnest Christian teachers who had been graduated from Shantung Christian University. Since he has been President he has most cordially received groups of pastors, urging religious toleration, and without doubt favored the remarkable call to prayer which was put forth by the Republican Government in April, 1913.

Charges are constantly made that he is aiming at dictatorship, and there are certain facts which bear such an interpretation. On the other hand, with the army back of him from the beginning, he has not as yet taken such a step. Yuen Shi Kai has claimed in public address what is perfectly true, that the republican form of government is not alien to the spirit of the Chinese people, and we, as yet, have no reason to believe that he is unfriendly to the Republic. It is probable, however, that he feels that there is something more important than a republican form of government, namely, that order should be maintained and lines of advance outlined. It is also probable that some of his recent acts, such as expelling the ultra-patriotic element from the National Assembly, were taken in the belief that there was no other way possible to secure order and progress. In other words, as far as we can judge, while Yuen Shi Kai does not seem to be aiming at dictatorship, he is likely to go as far in that direction as seems necessary in his mind to secure these great and fundamental objects in government.

As to the religious situation, many scattered events during the year indicate that idolatry has been losing its hold, creating for the missionary and the Church in China at once a splendid opportunity and a serious responsibility. In many places the idols have been thrown out and the temples either left vacant or used as barracks or school-houses. If the temples are to be swept and garnished, we must see that the worship of the one true God is established, lest the last state of these people become worse than the first.

As was to be expected, an effort is being put forth to establish Confucianism as a state religion. Doubtless many of the old scholars, and some of the later trained men will favor this, strengthening their position by appealing to the patriotism of the people. Yuen Shi Kai himself has spoken very highly of the teaching of Confucius in a recent "presidential mandate;" but we do not interpret the meager telegraphic dispatches to mean that he personally favors Confucianism as a state religion. It was only a few months ago that his Government asked the Christians to unite in prayer for their nation. This movement for the establishment of Confucianism is not unanticipated and has gained sufficient strength to justify a concerted protest by a meeting in Peking of adherents to other religions. Nevertheless, we hardly believe that China will take this backward step, but will grant religious freedom in harmony with the other leading nations of the world. Even if the immediate outcome is the establishment of Confucianism as a state religion and absolutism as the form of Government, it is sure to be temporary. The democratic forces in the nation are inherent and too strong to permit such possible issues becoming permanent.

The friendly attitude on the part of the Government and a large number of the officials, maintained steadily for over two years, together with the breaking away from idolatry on the part of

many, has created for Christianity an opportunity which it would not be easy for one to overstate. While in past years we have often had to make opportunities, we are now face to face with an opportunity already made, which will tax our strength to the uttermost. It is a call to sacrifice, and we shall grip this opportunity in proportion as men and women are ready to sacrifice the strength and time and treasure which God has given into their hands. Upon America rests a special responsibility. Above all other nations in the world China regards us as her sincerest friend. There has been given into our hands treasure which no preceding generation ever dreamed of. Our greatest danger is that we shall hug it to ourselves in ease and luxury and selfishness, forgetting that "He that scattereth, increaseth," unmindful of the saying,

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We are being tested as never before. The question is, are we meeting the test in a way to give us the purest satisfaction now, and to make us, a hundred years from now, glad that we had some real and vital part in making China a Christian nation as surely, steadily and perhaps more quickly than we think, she becomes a dominant nation in the world? No greater single task faces the followers of Christ to-day. Are we facing it in any adequate way?

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p. 4

Our Greatest Single Task

"Woman's Work"
Vol. XXIX, Jan., 1914

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THE KINGS OF MODERN KOREA.

	POSTHUMOUS TITLE	NAME	STYLE	DATE OF ACCESSION	TOMB		QUEEN'S TITLE	NAME	TOMB		CHILDREN	
					NAME	PLACE			NAME	PLACE		
1.	太祖	T'a-jo Kang-hon T'a-wang.....	Yi Sung-gye..	Chung-gvul..	1392	Kon-wun..	Yang-ju...	Sin-eui Wang-hu.....	Han..	Che..	Puug-dok..	Sons six Dau tw
2.	定宗	Ch'ong-jong Kong-jung T'a-wang....	Yi Gyong...	Kwang-wun..	1399	Hu.....	Pung-dok..	Chong-an Wang-hu.....	Kim...	Hu...	Pung-dok..	Sons tw Dau ..
3.	太宗	P'a-jong Kong-jung T'a-wang.....	Yi Pang-wun	Yu-duk.....	1401	Hon.....	Kwang-ju..	Wun-gyong Wang-hu..	Min...	Hnn...	Kwang-ju..	Son-ju Dau for
4.	世宗	Se-jong Chang-hon T'a-wang.....	Yi Do.....	Wun-jung...	1419	Yong.....	Yo-ju ..	So-hnn Wang-hu.....	Sim...	Yung...	Yo-ju ..	Sons e Dau tw
5.	文宗	Mun-jong Kong-sun T'a-wang.....	Yi Hyang...	Whi-ji.....	1451	Hvon...	Yang-ju...	Hvon-dok Wang-hu...	Kwun...	Hyon...	Yang-ju..	Son one Dau on
6.	端宗	Tan-jong Kong-eui T'a-wang.....	Yi Hong-wi..		1453	Chang....	Yong-wol..	Chong-san Wang-hu...	Song...	Sa....	Yang-ju...	Sons .. Dau ..
* 7.	世宗	Se-jo Hye-jang T'a-wang.....	Yi Yu.....	Su-ju.....	1456	Kwang ..	Yang-ju...	Chong-heui Wang-hu..	Yun...	Kwang	Yang-ju...	Sons tw Dau. one
+ -	德宗	T'uk-jong Whe-gan T'a-wang.....	Yi Chang....	Wun-myung..	...	Kyong ...	Ko-yang..	So-hye Wang-hu	Han....	Kyong	Ko-yang...	Sons tw Dau. one
8.	睿宗	Ye-jong Yang-do T'a-wang.....	Yi Kwang....	Myung-jo....	1469	Ch'ang...	Ko-yang..	Chang-sun Wang-hu ..	Han....	Kone	P'a-ju....	Son one Dau.
9.	成宗	S'ong-jong Kang-jung T'a-wang.....			1470	Son	Kwang-ju..	Kong-hye Wang-hu ..	Han....	Sun...	P'a-ju....	Son one Dau ..
†10.	燕山君	Yun-san-ju.....	Yi Yung.....		1495		Yang-ju...	Chong-hvon Wang-hu ..	Yun...	Son...	Kwang-ju..	Son one Dau one
11.	中宗	Chung-jong Kong-heui T'a-wang.....	Yi Tu.....	Nak-chun ..	1506	Chong....	Kwang-ju..	Tan-gyong Wang-hu....	sin....	On....	Yang-ju...	Sons .. Dau ..
12.	仁宗	In-jong Yung-jung T'a-wang.....	Yi Ho.....		1545	Hvo.....	Ko-yang..	In-seung Wang-hu.....	Pak...	Hyo...	Ko-yang...	Son .. Dau ..
13.	明宗	M'ying-jong Kong-hon T'a-wang....	Yi Hang....	Ta-yaung	1546	Kane....	Yang-ju ..	In-sun Wang-hu.....	Sim...	Kang..	Yang-ju...	Son one... Dau ..
14.	宣宗	S'in-jo So-gvung T'a-wang.....	Yi Kweng...		1568	Mok	Yang-ju ..	Eui-in Wang-hu	Pak...	Mok...	Yang-ju ..	Son .. Dau ..
16.		In-jo Hon-jong Kong-hon T'a-wang.....	Yi Chong....	Wha	1623	Chang....	Kyo-wha ..	In-yui Wang-hu.....	Han....	Chang	Kyo-wha..	Sons four Dau ..
17.	孝宗	Hvo-jong Sun-mun T'a-wang.....	Yi Ho.....	Chong-vun..		Yong.....	Yo-ju....	In-sung Wang-hu	Chang	Yong...	Yo-ju....	Son one Dau six
18.	顯宗	Y'von-jong So-hyu T'a-wang.....	Yi Yun.....	Kyong-jik....	1600	Sung.....	Yang-ju...	Mvung-sung Wang-hu..	Kim...	Sung...	Yang-ju...	Son one... Dau three
19.	世宗	Se-jong Hyon-eui T'a-wang.....	Yi Sun.....	Myung-bo....	1675	Myung....	Ko-yang..	Chong Wang-hu	Kim...	Ik....	Ko-yang...	Son one... Dau two
20.	景宗	Ky'ong-jong Tok-in T'a-wang.....	Yi Ki.....	W	1721	Eui	Yang-ju ..	Tan-eui Wang-hu	Sim...	He	Yang-ju...	Son .. Dau ..
21.	英宗	Y'ng-jong Hyun-hyo T'a-wang.....	Yi Eun....	Kwang-suk..	1725	Wun...	Yang-ju ..	Chung-sung Wang-hu ..	So....	Hong	Ko-yang...	Son .. Dau ..
+ -	真宗	Chin-jong Hyo-jang T'a-wang.....	Yi Hang	Song-gvung..	...	Yong.....	Pa-ju	Hvo-sun Wang-hu	Cho...	Yong..	P'a-ju....	Son .. Dau ..
22.	正宗	Ch'ong-jong Chang-hyo T'a-wang....	Yi Sun ..	Hyang-in....	1777	Kon ..	Su-wun...	Hyo-eui Wang-hu	Kim...	Kon...	Su-wun...	Son .. Dau ..
* 23.	純宗	Sun-jo Song-hyo T'a-wang.....	Yi Kwang...	Kong	1801	In.....	Kwang-ju..	Sun-wu Wang-hu.....	Kim...	In	Kwang-ju..	Son two... Dau ..
+ -	翼宗	Ik-jong Hyo-in T'a-wang.....	Yi Ta.....	Tok-in	Yu.....	Yang-ju ..	Hong-dok Wang-hu....	Cho...	Yu....	Yang-ju...	Son one... Dau ..
24.	憲宗	H'on-jong Chul-hyo T'a-wang.....	Yi Whan....	Mun-eung....	1835	Kvong...	Yang-ju ..	Hyo-hvon Wang-hu....	Kim...	Kyong	Yang-ju...	Son .. Dau ..
25.	哲宗	Ch'ul-jong Yong-hyo T'a-wang.....	Chung	To-seung	1850	Ye.....	Ko-yang..	Mvung-sun Ta-bi.....	Kim...			Son one... Dau ..
26.	高宗	The Present Emperor.....	Yi Hvon	Mvung-bu....	1864			In-song Wang-hu....	Min	Hong	Yang-ju...	Son one... Dau ..
27.	純宗	Ko-jong			1864			Became Emperor Wangmu, 1897; abdicated, 1907.				
		Sun-jong			1907			Reign name - Yun-heui (M-R Yunhui); his puppet regime and the dynasty ended by Japanese annexation, 1910.				

Only a Stone Marks Spot Where Taros Tripped Reds

Stars and Stripes Korea Bureau

OSAN, Korea—If you drive the long, dusty road between Osan and Suwon, south of Seoul, you will see a stone monument perched on a small hill just a few yards off the road.

This monument marks the spot where the first U.S. troops engaged in combat with the Communists at the beginning of the Korean conflict.

"Task Force Smith", as it was called, was composed of men of the U.S. 24th Div. who were flown to Korea with just one purpose in mind—stop the Communists long enough to get a strong U.N. Force into the country to meet the invaders.

* * * * *

ACCORDING TO the 24th Div. history, Col. Charles B. Smith, commander of the task force, had orders which read, "When reaching

Taejon, move north—stop them where you find them."

On Independence Day, 1950, a handful of men celebrated the day in a very unusual manner—digging foxholes in a strange place called Osan.

At twilight, July 5, 4,000 Koreans lead by 33 tanks moved into the area.

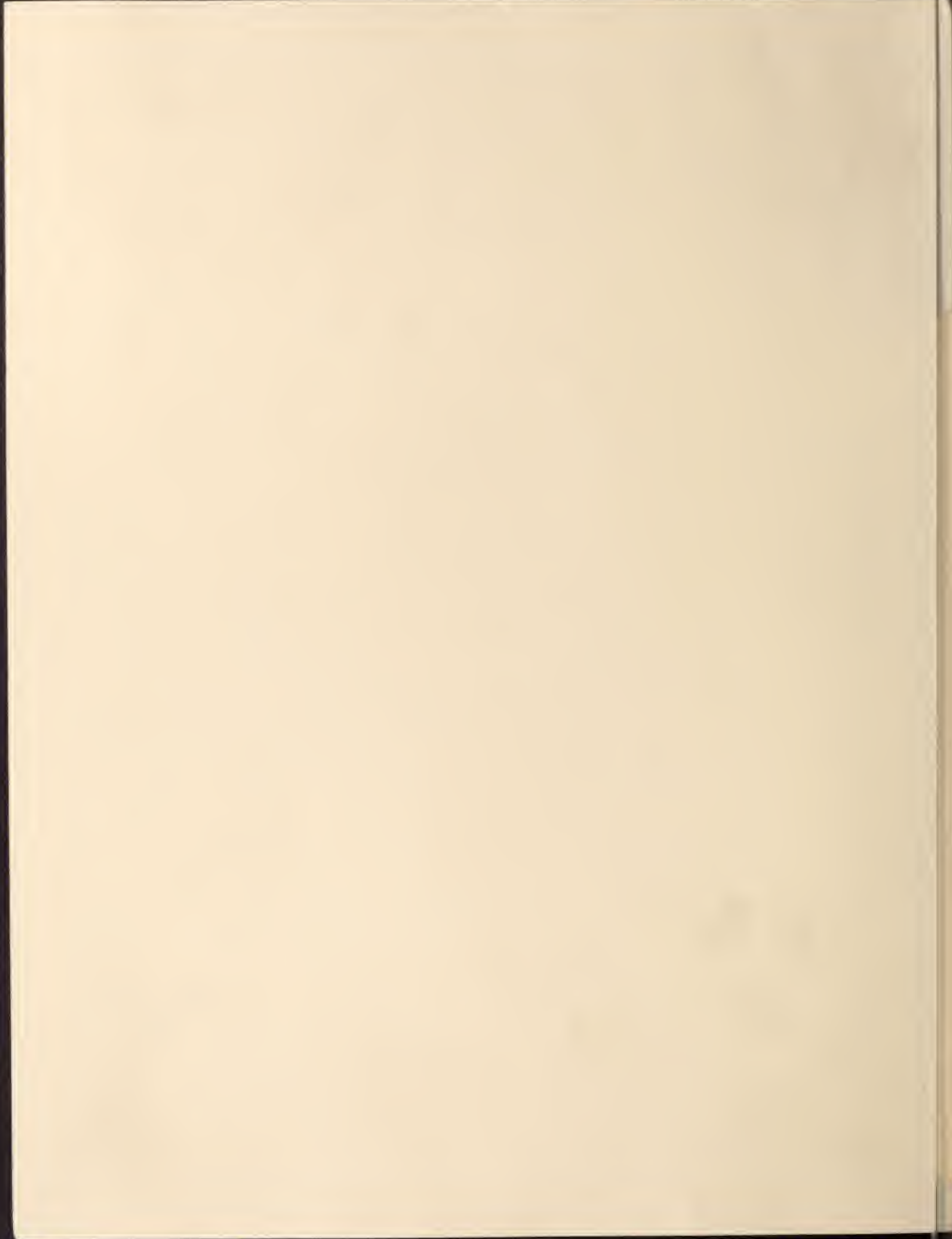
For hours the battle raged. Task Force Smith poured howitzer, bazooka, mortar and small arms fire at the Russian-made tanks.

But the odds were too great and the task force was surrounded.

Abandoning the heavy weapons, members of the depleted task force cut their way through the enemy lines and withdrew to the south.

The battle looked like a defeat, but General Douglas MacArthur credited Smith and the members of the task force with buying the necessary time for other U.N. units to rush into the

KATUSAs A



High-Lights of

KOREAN HISTORY

The Korean Language School—Seoul—1955

Korean history is sometimes summarized as being that of Five Dynasties in Four Thousand Years. These dynasties would be; Tangun, Kija, Silla, Koryu, and Yi dynasties.

The outline given herewith seeks to provide a list of eight epochs under which the student may properly correlate his readings from various sources.

1.— **Tradition** Prior to 57 B. C.

- 2333 B. C. Tangun, mythical founder of Korea.
- 1122 B. C. Kija, Chinese refugee, establishes the Kingdom of Chosun.
- Three Hans in Southern Korea. (Mehan, Pyonhan, and Chinhan)

2.— **The Three Kingdoms** 57 B. C. to 668 A. D.

- Silla established at Kyungju.
- Paikje, with capital first at Namhan, then Kongju and finally at Puyuh.
- Koguryu, with capital near the Yalu, later moved to Pyengyang.

3.— **The Kingdom of Silla** 668—935

- Silla overthrows Paikje-(660) and Koguryu (668).
- Splendid Buddhist temples and pagodas are built.
- High quality of culture gives this period the name of The Golden Age.
- Oldest astronomical observatory erected at Kyungju.

4. — Koryu Dynasty 935—1392

- Capital established at Songdo.
- Movable wooden type invented.
- Buddhist culture reaches its zenith.
- Constant warfare with Japanese pirates.
- Recurring Mongol invasions (Kublai Khan).
- Western name of KOREA (COREA) derived from name of this dynasty.

5. — Yi Dynasty 1392—1905

- General Yi Song Rei establishes capital at Hanyang (Seoul) and builds city wall.
- 1403—Movable type cast (fifty years before Gutenberg).
- 1442—Rain gauges distributed to the provinces thus beginning recording of rainfall two centuries ahead of the Western world.
- 1446—Korean alphabet promulgated by King Se-Jong.
- 1592—1597—Terrible Hideyoshi Invasion. Japanese repelled by use of “tortoise boats”, world’s first iron-clad vessels, invented by Admiral Yi Soon-sin.
- 1636—Savage Manchu invasion results in an isolation policy which made Korea The Hermit Kingdom.
- 1653—Dutch ship, Sparrow Hawk, wrecked off Quelpart. Survivors reaching Holland after nine years give first authentic account of Korea to western world.
- 1882—Korea’s first trade treaty with the western world signed with USA.
- 1894—Tong-Hak uprising against foreigners.
- 1895—Sino-Japanese War eliminates Chinese influence in Korea. Queen Min murdered in plot engineered by Viscount Miura.
- Korean name changed from Chosun to Dai Han Kook.
- 1902—Independence Arch erected in Seoul.
- 1904—Russo-Japanese War eliminates Russian influence in the peninsula.

6.— Japanese Administration 1905—1945

- 1905—Japanese protectorate. Resident-General to Seoul.
- 1908—Korean Emperor forced to abdicate in favor of feebleminded son.
- 1910—Korea formally annexed to Japan. Name of CHOSUN restored.
- 1919—Declaration of Independence signed by 33 patriots. Nation wide uprising. Provisional Government established in Shanghai. Syngman Rhee, having been named as President of the Republic in exile establishes a Korean Commission (unofficial embassy) in Washington, D.C.
- Period of police control (one policeman to every 1,150 people).
- 1935—1940 Increased emphasis on Japanizing the Korean people.
- 1940—1941 Westerners leave Korea.
- 1945—Japanese Emperor announces surrender, August 15.

7.— Post-War Transition 1945—1948

- August-Sept 1945-USSR and US troops occupy North and South Korea, respectively.
- 1945—1946-Russians make 38th parallel a barrier between the two parts of the country.
- 1946—1947-Joint American Soviet Commission twice fails to agree on method of forming a Korean government.
- 1946—1947-US Military Government USAMGIK established in South Korea.
- 1945—47-Flight from North Korea.
- 1946 Provisional Peoples Committee in North Korea.
- 1947—48-South Korean Interim Government SKIG.
- May 10, 1948-U.N. sponsored elections for Korea held in South Korea.
- May 31, 1948 National Assembly convened.
- August 15th, 1948-General MacArthur formally transfers government to President Rhee.
- Sept. 10, 1948-Kim Il Sung becomes Premier of the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea.
- Chosun becomes Dai Han Min Kook.

8. — The Republic of Korea 1948

- Recognized by UN as government for all Korea.
- June 1949—U.S. Forces retire from Korea, although protested by Korean people.
- May 30 1950—Second election for members of General Assembly.
- June 25th, 1950—Invasion by North Korea begins.
- June 27th—U.N. Security Council votes military sanctions.
- August 1950—U.N. Forces pushed back to the Taegu-Pusan perimeter.
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- February 1951—U.N. Forces begin long drive back from Suwon.
- July 1951—Peace talks begin at Kaesong.
- Aug. 5, 1952—Syngman Rhee elected by popular vote for a second four year term.
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- 1954—Promulgation of new constitution abolishes office of Prime Minister.

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RHEE'S DAILY LIFE

(Continued from Page 1)
considering international problems, he pens his thoughts in English.

On occasions like today's birthday celebration, Rhee holds to a pretty close schedule. He and his Austrian-born wife get up shortly before 7:00 a.m. and hold a Bible-reading worship service. President and Mrs. Rhee who have no children, are devout Christians. Rhee then listens to a 10-minute newscast over the U.S. Armed Forces radio. After a breakfast of coffee, toast and eggs, the President scans the local newspapers and types out on a small portable any ideas he may have.

By 9:00 a.m. he is downstairs in his Kyongmu Dai presidential mansion receiving a long list of appointments. This goes on until shortly before noon when Mrs. Rhee brings him drafts of letters he is to read and sign.

Lunch most likely is made up of Western food, possibly flavored with distinctive Korean spices. Although his wife keeps a close watch on the kitchen and the Pre-

sident's diet, she doesn't have much time to cook. Occasionally, however, she makes one of her special Austrian recipes, such as an upside down cake.

Rhee takes a short afternoon nap when he has time, but ordinarily, he is back at his desk by 1:30 p.m. to greet more callers.

From four to 5:30 p.m. he and Mrs. Rhee usually stroll around the hushed grounds of Kyongtok place. The President often will unfold a portable chair and fish for an hour or so, meditating and jotting down notes.

Only old friends or prominent guests ever get to see the chief executive in the evening. After dinner, which is served anytime from six to 7:30 p.m., the family may watch a Korean or American movie.

The President likes most kinds of films except "shoot-em-up" Westerns. Bedtime is about 9:30 p.m.

Rhee travels around Seoul in a 1952 Lincoln which is always driven through the street at breakneck speed and accompanied by an escort of siren-wailing police

liance between five independent sovereign states (Britain, Iran and Pakistan also) on a basis of complete equality.

"It is concerned not only with military security, but also with the development of the economic resources of its members and the raising of their standards of living.

"With regard to further membership of the pact. Her Majesty's Government have no intention of bringing pressure to bear on other states to join.

"No one has the right to exercise a veto of that nature."

cars.

He does not like to receive expensive gifts and has been known to return costly presents. He prefers generally a little card, a note, or a bouquet of flowers.

Many of his friends in the U.S., however, often send him valuable gifts, which he usually stores in the mansion's vacant ball room until they are trucked to orphanages.

Rhee lives comfortably but modestly. His mansion, which serves as his home and office, still is camouflaged with netting.

WAYS
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Timely Nuggets

Historic Mountain



By Patty Barker

Since this is the time when everyone makes at least one or two New Year's resolutions, I hope that readers of this column have promised themselves that 1969 will be "See Korea First" year. Never mind Japan, Hong Kong, and Taiwan; everyone has seen those places, even if you haven't. They simply aren't "in" anymore. But Korea, ah, there is a unique wonderful country to explore, and you're already here!

A good place to start (after Seoul and Kyongju, of course) would be Puyo, the last of the ancient Paekche capitals. This dynasty flourished from B.C. 18-663 A.D., and the arts of that era were eagerly imported by the Japanese.

Puyo, which was called Sabi in Paekche days lies about midway between Taejon City on the east and Taechon Beach to the west. Situated on the banks of the widely meandering White Horse River, there are scenic attractions enough to keep one delighted, even if the historical sights are overlooked entirely.

Many of the points of interest are located on wooded Puso Mountain that rises behind the old and new museum buildings. Everything on and around the mountain can easily be reached by private vehicle, taxi, on foot, and even partly by boat!

Logically, the place to start a sightseeing tour of a historic city would be at the local museum. Unfortunately that doesn't hold true here. The old museum is small. Presumably a mere fraction of the town's Paekche treasures are on display. I assume the rest have been squirreled away somewhere to be brought to light when the new huge museum is completed.

I said "when"; perhaps "if" is a better word. A colossal controversy arose over the entrance gate which many people said looked exactly like a Japanese torii that traditionally stands before Shinto shrines. In an effort to change the Japanese appearance, the builders have lopped off the ends of the lower crossbeam of the gate. Now the museum gateway looks exactly like a Shinto shrine torii that has had the ends of its lower crossbeam lopped off.

Regardless of the gate, the weird concrete museum (it doesn't resemble anything, except possibly the skeleton of a beached whale) should be completed. Then the magnificent Paekche tiles can be better displayed along with other local antiquities.

If the museum is rather a disappointment, the rest of Puso Mountain is not. There are remnants of the ancient city walls, pavilions, temples, and other historical delights scattered all over the mountain side.

Most famous is the Cliff of

the Falling Flowers where some 3,000 princesses and court ladies, unchivalrously abandoned by the fleeing king, flung themselves over the precipice into the river rather than be captured by the conquering armies. The colorful dresses rippling in the wind as these loyal women plunged to their deaths resembled scattered flowers, so the story goes.

Below this crag lies a small but very ancient temple, now a nunnery, called Koransa or Orchid Temple. According to another Paekche legend the water in the well in this temple was honey-flavored. The king, exerting his rank, insisted upon having this delicious water carried to him every day. To make sure there was no substitution of ordinary inferior water-flavored water, he required that an orchid from the wooded slopes behind the temple be floating in each royal bucketful.

A few yards out into the river from the temple lies a small rock island called Fishing-for-a-Dragon Terrace. From the top of the mountain this rock formation certainly resembles a dragon with head facing shoreward.

When the Chinese General Su who led the Silla and Tang (China) Armies against Paekche, arrived at the river a fierce tumult in the waters kept the warriors from crossing. The general knew that the savage waves were being lashed-up by the tail of a dragon who lived in the river, and who guarded the Paekche capital.

Baiting an enormous hook with a white horse, the wily general succeeded in capturing the dragon. Immediately the waters subsided, and the armies easily crossed the river and seized the city. The name, White Horse River, also commemorates this event.

If the sightseer wishes to

walk down the many flights of steps to the river's edge and to the Koran Temple, there are boats for hire there so that tourists may photograph the Cliff of the Falling Flowers from the water.

At the highest point above this rocky promontory is a viewing platform called Goodbye to the Moon Pavilion. Here the royal court could watch the moon set behind the western mountains.

On the other side of Puso Mountain stands Welcoming the Moon Pavilion. Next door to this scenic spot is Puso's finest attraction, for me, anyway. Here the soldiers of the Paekche Army had a great granary where a large amount of their food was stored. The granary burned down at some point in Paekche history, and here the tourist may have the pleasure of digging for grain that is more than 1,300 years old! Digging is really unnecessary, for the black carbonized specks lie dotted over the ground.

The lady who runs the refreshment stand across the way has the keys to the fenced-off area. She also keeps an ash tray on display which contains the various grains that can be found there. Rice is the most common but peas, beans, barley, and wheat may also be found, she told us.

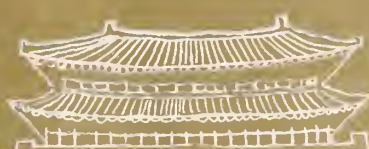
Her young daughter is a great help in pointing out the charred cereal seeds to tourists. No fee is charged, but you may feel that the cheerful little girl's help is worth patronizing her mother's shop for refreshments after your archeological dig is over.

By the Way:

My column space is used up and I haven't even gotten to Puso Mountain! Next week I tell you about some other Puyo tourist spots.



Several tourists collect Paekche-age grain at the granary site on Mt. Puso.



**American
Trading Co.
Korea, Ltd.**

American Trading Company Korea, Ltd. is the oldest Western firm doing business in Korea. It is part of a family which has its parent firm in New York and affiliates in Tokyo, Osaka, Saigon, Bangkok, Djakarta, and Rotterdam. The parent firm was founded in 1857 and grew to be the largest general American trading house in the Orient. At one time it had 24 branches located around the world.

The American Trading Company of New York, Yokohama, and Shanghai sent its first representative to Korea in May 1884. The man's name was Walter D. Townsend, and he came from Boston. One of the more famous figures in Korea's late 19th century modernization and enlightenment movement, Kim Ok-kyun, became acquainted with the American Trading Company in Yokohama and personally brought its first representative to Korea.

One of the earliest transactions between the Korean government and American Trading Company concerned the purchase of timber from Ullung Island off Korea's east coast. By mid-1885, the American legation in Seoul reported that American Trading Company had already executed \$ 175,000 worth of commission business for stock animals, furniture and tableware for the palace, arms, and ammunition.

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Conveyors, Vibrators, Crushers

James R. Morse, President of American Trading Company in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, took a particular interest in Korea and made numerous attempts to encourage both American and European financial circles to invest in the country. In 1896, American Trading Company negotiated an agreement with the Korean government for the right to construct the country's first railroad.

Townsend remained in Korea until his death in 1918. Thereafter, his son-in-law headed the business. Kerosene sales was one of the firm's principal activities. During the Japanese colonial period, American Trading Company's Japan offices also sold considerable amounts of mining machinery and industrial diamonds to customers in Korea. All activities ceased at the end of 1941.

American Trading Company, Inc. returned to Korea shortly after the signing of the 1953 armistice agreement. At first the office was set up in Pusan, but as soon as communications improved, it was moved to Seoul. This office was opened as a branch of American Trading Company, Inc. in New York, but in 1961 it became a separately capitalized Korean company. American Trading Company Korea, Ltd. today employs a staff of over forty and represents, among others, the following quality manufacturers:

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ON ELECTIONS

Results of Research by Professor Announced

The following is the third and last of a series on findings in an analytical research on the July 29 elections conducted by the Asiatic Research Institute of Korea University under the direction of Assistant Prof. Byung Hun Oh of the Political Science Department of the University.

The election scrutiny, first of its kind in Korea, was made with financial assistance from the Asia Foundation and in cooperation with the Dong-A Ilbo, a local Korean-language daily in Seoul, right after the election.

D. What Party Did You Support?

28.6 percent of the total respondents stated that they supported the Democratic Party regardless of intra-party factions.

29.9 percent of the respondents specified they voted for the old faction, and 10.5 percent for the new faction Democrats.

6.7 percent of the answers backed Progressive parties, 5.1 for Independents, and 0.18 for the Liberals. Supporters of the Liberals said that their choices were strictly based on personality.

The interim report indicates young people generally support the old faction Democrats. 31.5 percent of the respondents in 20s and 30s stated they approved the old factionists, in comparison with 25.7 percent of the people above the age of 40.

The election study also showed that voters who lived in south Korea from before 1945 showed a higher rate of support for the old faction Democrats than that of the ex-north Koreans who came to south Korea after the Korean Liberation from Japan.

Less than 10 percent of the total respondents underpinned the Progressive parties, but it was an interesting tendency that original inhabitants of south Korea occupied a larger segment than the ex-north Koreans in the 10 percent.

E. What Do You Think of the Future?

More than half of the total respondents or 54 percent said that the general situation in the nation will take a turn for the better. The older they were, the stronger the hope for a better future.

About 20 percent of the respondents said the situation will continue to be the same as before, and another 20 percent stated the situation will become aggravated.

Generally, better prospects for the future were viewed by

people of lower education, including primary school graduates, and the degree of optimism sharply dipped in the category of middle school graduates. As a general rule, people of high school education and above were pessimistic of the future.

The aforementioned scrutiny was conducted right after the election day. It is presumed that many of the respondents have changed their minds now that two months have elapsed and the political situation still remains unstable.

Rice Crop Survey Made By Ministry

The rice crop of this country this fall is estimated at 88,855,144.44 bushels by the Agriculture-Forestry Ministry. The estimate is based on a survey conducted as of Sep 15.

The crop will be an increase of 2,232,000 bushels over the average year, but decrease of 3,472,000 bushels from last year. It will be more than 10 million bushels short of the goal set in the Government's rice production plan for this year.

The unfavorable crop is attributed mainly to the drought that almost dried up the rice dikes in the southern region, especially Kyongsang-nam and Kyongsang-bukto. The drought, according to the Ministry, reduced the crop 3.5 million bushels.

Another factor contributing to the decrease was a typhoon that also hit the rice-southern regions, cutting the crop by an estimated 1,091 bushels.

Blights and blasts also caused a 1,041,600-bushels damage to the crop, the Ministry reported.

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May 4, 1969

The War that Shook the World



Japanese cavalry charge
on Russian position
at Ken Lein Chein, Manchuria

五國他陸軍年

Letters

What Is a Boutique?

Sir — The Listener (BBC Weekly) from London, 22nd August 1968, in a review by John Morris of a new edition of *Hobson-Jobson*, a glossary of Anglo-Indian words and phrases, notes that boutique "is a common word in Ceylon and Madras for a small native shop or booth, and is probably of Portuguese origin." He then reproduces a quotation from the *India Gazette* of 1780 "You must know that Mrs Henpeck is a great buyer of bargains, so that she will often go out to the Europe shops and the boutiques."

Yet my other magazine in this week's reading, TAM of February 9, 1969, has Mrs Gallardo asking what is a boutique, and answering herself with a learned etymological derivation from *Atotheke*, a Greek word for "warehouse." She then surmises that it was converted in Paris to a fashion-shop and thence transmitted farther afield, concluding that "Asia's first boutiques in fact started to sprinkle the scene only about a decade or so ago."

Perhaps Madras or Ceylonese readers of TAM may be able to sort out this mix-up, and even establish the primacy for their own area of boutiques, in the current meaning of the word.

Tom Errey

Tasmania Australia

Indonesian Press

Sir — Mochter Lubis's description of corrupt practices in the Indonesian press is not really unique. I have studied the communications media in the United States and in the Philippines. It's the same everywhere. The big shame is that Indonesian journalists who have just regained their freedom to write are much too soon fooling around with it. At least Filipino newspapermen, tight after the Philippine victory over the Spaniards and for some 50 years before the 1950's, generally remained chaste.

Luis G Guidote

Manila, Philippines

Saigon '69

Sir — How many of us felt anything at all for the despair of the weary Vietnamese quoted by your Terence Khoo in his report on Saigon? "When I die I'll go to heaven — because I've spent all my life in hell?" This war has gone on so long that I, for one, pay no more than a passing glance at the morning headlines. Your article brought me back to reality.

Alan Pereira

Hong Kong

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COVER: Japanese cavalry officer leading a charge on a Russian position in Manchuria. Photographed from a collection of paintings and illustrations in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

CREDITS: Pages 4 & 5, Victoria & Albert Museum; Page 8, Agnes Chong; Page 8, Takeshi Takahara; Page 9, Dick Baldovino; Page 10, Takeshi Takahara.

I BELONG to that Asian generation which has for the most part of its adult life believed in the sanctity and validity of the nationalist faith. My conclusion in regard to nationalism now therefore goes against the grain of my lifelong beliefs. This conclusion is that present-day nationalism is undoubtedly at odds with the facts of the twentieth-century world.

Yet nationalism as an ideology and a basis for political organization will undoubtedly persist into the future. So the brief answer to the question "What lies beyond Nationalism?" is, I am afraid, still more Nationalism.

This observation is neither very striking nor very original. It might only add to the prevailing state of melancholy bewilderment to which nationalism is reducing Asia and the new nations in other continents. If nationalism will persist at least till the end of this century, must we then resign ourselves for sometime longer to the turmoil, disintegration, endemic violence and pathological hatreds which are features of contemporary nationalism in Asia?

Nationalism once inspired hundreds of thousands of Asians with great hopes, and attracted to its service thousands of noble and dedicated individuals who gave to it a glory and a lustre which it now appears to have lost. What then has gone wrong with nationalism?

The answer, I think, is that the nationalism which was appropriate for the fight for freedom is inappropriate for dealing with the problems of independence.

In other words, what we should strive for is not the abandoning of nationalism (which, in the circumstances now prevailing, is practically impossible) but the changing of its contents. What we need is a new nationalism to be created by the relatively simple process of renovation and replacement of its parts. Through such a strategy we can harness the force of nationalism for meaningful and hopeful goals.

I can best illustrate my argument by way of an analogy. The manufacturers of Rolls-Royce motor cars have successfully solved what social scientists call the problem of continuity and change. Contrary to general belief, the Rolls-Royce is a different car from what it was decades ago. The makers have consistently incorporated into every new model the most up-to-date technological innovations — so that when examined in detail the Rolls-Royce of today has very little in common with its ancestors. The illusion of changelessness is preserved by leaving untouched the radiator and the general air of elevated haughtiness that has been bred into this famous car.

Something like this can happen to nationalism. It can over the years be subjected to a sustained and relentless process of innovation from within. Its contents can, over the years, be replaced to such a significant ex-

Asia Speaks

Two decades ago we brought the colonial empires down. But we've not yet turned the energy we raised to win that fight for freedom into making freedom work now.

OUR OUTMODED NATIONALISM

By S. Rajaratnam
Minister for Foreign
Affairs, Singapore

tent that all it might eventually have in common with its earlier models is the reassuring radiator. It is through a series of new models of nationalism — each of which would incorporate some significant innovations — that I see Asian nationalism moving towards regionalism and internationalism. Each innovation would have been carried out so subtly that nationalism would finally be absorbed into the international system without people being even aware of it.

THIS, I believe, is not speculation. It is founded on my understanding of the history of nationalism in Europe and in Asia. It is that nationalism, like any other ideology, cannot be free from the process of change and evolution. Even ideologies, which claim divine inspiration and therefore immutability, have so changed their contents that today there are Christian theologians who, having purged concepts of Heaven and Hell out of religion, are now preparing to drive God Himself out of it.

More recently Communist theology has abandoned concepts that once were considered unalterable and essential articles of the Communist creed. The innovation in some schools of Communist thought has been so drastic that their rivals are constrained to describe these heretical Communists variously as capitalists, imperialists and chauvinists.

Asian leaders will need courage and vision to reexamine the contents of their nationalist faith. Fortunately they already have constituencies and followers receptive to fresh concepts about nationalism. These constituencies are the new generation of Asians born and bred not under imperialism and colonialism but under independence.

For these new-generation Asians the glories of the great anti-colonial struggles are only historic memories, not part of personal experience. Their experience, on the contrary, has been of what they increasingly consider is

the ineptness, flabbiness and knavery of the only ruling class they have known — their own nationalist elites who replaced the foreigners in power.

I would number this ironic experience among other factors responsible for the anarchy and cynicism that appear to afflict Asian youth. What may appear to us irresponsible indiscipline might, from the point of view of the younger generation, be an idealistic protest against the bankruptcy of an earlier breed of nationalists.

Our youths know what they are protesting against. But they do not know what they should protest for. All that the present leaders have to offer them is a nationalism shaped and refined over the past 50 years during the anti-colonial struggle — a phase of Asian history now passed.

The contents of anti-colonial Asian nationalism derive from nineteenth-century European nationalism slightly adapted to meet Asian requirements. This anti-colonial nationalism was effective for the purpose for which it was designed — to win independence. But for our younger generation independence is no longer a goal. They have got it. They were born into it. Some of them in fact feel that they have endured independence for too long. What they want is an ideology that will enable them to make something worthwhile out of the independence they possess.

THIS new need anti-colonial nationalism is not only incapable of filling it also contains features destructive of independent Asian societies. Where during its anti-colonial phase nationalism was able to unite peoples of many races, languages and religious creeds into an irresistible fraternity, today this nationalism breeds racial, linguistic and religious animosities and conflicts among the very same peoples.

In short, anti-colonial nationalism has in the post-independence era degenerated into a divisive ideology —

breeding all over Asia sub-nationalisms based on race, language, religion or tribes. Peoples who were once united are going in for political archaeology. They are rummaging among ancient myths and doubtful legends to find reasons why they are entitled to be distinct and separate from the rest of the national community.

Again during the anti-colonial phase of their history there was a consciousness of common purpose among Asian nations. The high-water mark of this solidarity was the Bandung conference of 1955, when Asian and African nations — with admirable disregard for differing social philosophies — met to proclaim undying friendship and eternal peace. I do not know whether this gathering of the oppressed nations of the world made a decisive impact on the imperialist nations of the West. But it is a fact that not long after Bandung the dismantling of empires was significantly speeded up.

Yet with the retreat of imperialism Asian unity too faded away. Asian nations are increasingly riven by hatreds and conflicts among themselves. Today they live in fear — not of Western imperialism — but of one another's.

Some Asian leaders — and leaders outside Asia — have tried to explain away these fears and conflicts by attributing them to the machinations of "neo-colonialists." Now it may well be that some non-Asian powers are exploiting the opportunities offered them by Asian disunity and rivalries. But if we are honest with ourselves, we should concede that this is largely because through our own stupidity or lack of vision we are putting temptations in the way of powers long accustomed to interfering in other people's affairs.

In my view the theory of neo-colonialism is for the most part an intellectual subterfuge by old-fashioned nationalists to conceal their own failures and their lack of understanding of the realities of independence. The theory is, to me, still more evidence of the inadequacy of anti-colonial nationalism.

SO the shortcomings of anti-colonial nationalism will become still more evident as the years go by. Popular resentment will build up against anti-colonial nationalism as it imposes intolerable burdens and spreads unbearable misery among the people. But it would be extremely foolish for us to allow pre-independence nationalism to be destroyed primarily by explosive mass-violence.

It may be prudent and less destructive if the old nationalism is to be changed by a systematic and conscious injection of new ideas. I hope that this renovation of Asian nationalism will be undertaken by bold minds, and that the 1970's will be given over to this undertaking. Cir-

CONTINUED on page 14



Japanese cavalry charges Russian position in Fong Huang Cheng. Russians, although brave and well equipped, were hampered by inefficient officers.



Scaling of Fong Huang Chang walls by Japanese infantrymen preceded occupation of strategic town. Russians, failing to get reinforcements, beat a retreat.



Waving sword exultantly in one hand and holding Rising Sun banner in the other, Japanese officer informs men of Russian defeat at Port Arthur.



The War That Shook The World

IT WAS the century's first major war. The belligerents, a rapidly Westernizing Japan and a decaying Imperial Russia — cast in the roles of a latter-day David and Goliath — met in a headlong clash that has been described as "one of the most wretchedly useless wars ever fought." The struggle took place on territory — China and Korea — that belonged to neither, but where both antagonists were seeking to expand their imperial ambitions. And it was the unexpected outcome of the war — a dramatic finale which saw, for the first time in modern history, a major Western power in abject defeat at the hands of an Asian nation — that shook the world. This not only provided one of the sparks that led to the bloody overthrow of Czarist Russia, but marked a turning point for Asian nationalism and attitudes towards the West, the effects of which are still felt today. On these pages, The Asia Magazine presents the first of a two-chapter series on one of the most momentous events of our time.



Port Arthur's Russian commander presents white charger to Japanese as a symbol of surrender.

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Japanese infantrymen landing on the Liaotung Peninsula in May 1904 at a point north of Port Arthur. Russians at Gold Hill lookout station (right) spot Japanese fleet. Poorly-led Russian infantry (below right) recapturing their own guns at battle of Liaoyang.

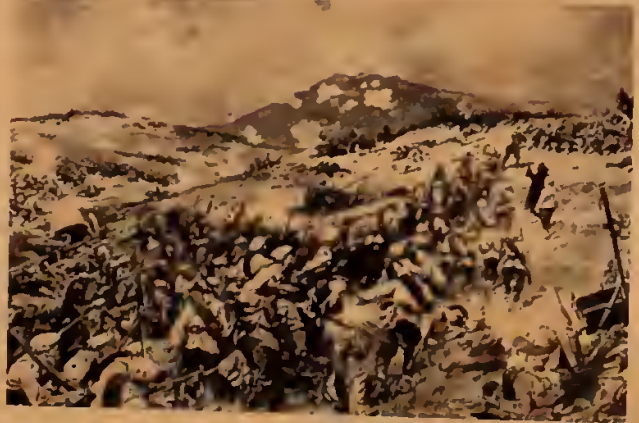
THE night of February 5, 1904 was windswept and freezing. But the wintry weather simply added to the sense of rising excitement felt by the commanding officers of the large fleet of warships assembled at Sasebo port in southern Japan. The summons earlier that day had been brief and peremptory. All commanders were to report on board the *Mikasa*, the massive 15,140-ton flagship of Vice-Admiral Hailachiro Togo.

As the officers filed into his cabin they caught sight of an ornate lacquered tray on which was a short samurai ceremonial sword. It was unsheathed. To everyone in the cabin this meant one thing: Japan was at war.

"We sail in the morning," said Togo when everyone was present. "Our enemy flies the Russian flag."

Some 72 hours later, lookouts at the approaches of the Russian base of Port Arthur spotted a small force of torpedo boats approaching at full speed. They were flashing Russian recognition signals, and the sentries allowed them by without a challenge.

Sweeping past the harbour's outer defences, the boats headed directly for the seven battleships and six cruisers, all lit up and lying peacefully at anchor. Most of the officers were at a ball given by the Russian admiral's wife, while the men diverted themselves elsewhere ashore. Not a single gun was manned. The attackers singled out their targets and, at point-blank range, fired their torpedoes. They wheeled about and pulled out, leaving behind two Russian battleships and one cruiser badly crippled. The next day Japanese battleships outside the harbour opened up with their big guns



at long range, and by nightfall four more Russian warships had been put out of action.

Togo, his fleet practically unscathed and with the loss of only six men, had fired the first shots of the Russo-Japanese War. In doing so he made full use of the strategy of surprise—a tactic his country was to use so de-

vastatingly three and a half decades later at a place called Pearl Harbour.

Japan had broken off diplomatic relations with Russia on February 6—hours after Tokyo had decided to go to war and after Togo had briefed his officers in Sasebo. And it did not declare war officially until February 10, two days after Togo's surprise attack.

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Map showing Japanese and Russian major engagements of the war.

at Port Arthur when he crippled the strongest elements of imperial Russia's First Pacific Squadron.

By that time, too, the short, impassive naval vataran had added to his credit two more Russian warships, sunk in a brief battle at Chemulpo—now Inchon—where he landed Japanese troops for the land offensive.

The manoeuvring preceding the Russo-Japanese War were intricate and complex, but the reasons for the struggle — which has been described as "one of the most wretchedly useless wars ever fought" — were simple: both powers were seeking to tighten their colonialist grip over Korea, a new and weak country, and Manchuria. Almost a decade before, Japan had conquered China. The decisive battle had been at Port Arthur, which it received as part of its spoils at the signing of the peace treaty. But not for long. Russia, backed up by Germany and France, bullied Japan into giving Port Arthur back to China.

For Japan this rankled as a humiliation which demanded revenge—hence Togo's choice of the strategic town for the 1904 attack. For Russia it was the beginning of further gains in the Far East. In 1898 Russia bullied China into "leasing" Port Arthur to it for use as an ice-free Russian naval base. And with the near-completion of the Russian-owned Trans-Siberian Railway, Czar Nicholas II's ambitions increased.

Egged on by Russian elements with vested interests in Korea — which, by then, was under the influence of Japan — the Czar was persuaded to

bring that country under his "protection."

Japan, at this time, would have been content with an agreement whereby Korea would be allocated to its sphere of influence, leaving Manchuria to Russia. Nicholas, however, wanted both — and Japanese claims to Korea only made him all the more determined to preserve the world from the "yellow peril."

By 1903 Japan realized that a negotiated settlement with Russia was but wishful thinking. Nicholas, convinced that Japan would never dare attack a country so many times bigger than itself, had become arrogantly oblivious of Japanese demands.

Military chiefs in Tokyo had, in fact, begun preparations for war five full months before the first shots were fired. They were agreed on two basic premises: the war would have to be short — it would have to be won, in fact, before Russia could overwhelm Japan's limited forces with the sheer weight of its million-man army, and that hostilities would have to begin at once — before the Trans-Siberian Railway, as yet incomplete, could begin carrying reinforcements to the Far East.

The first important task was to prevent Russia's Pacific Squadron from interfering with Japanese naval movements, and to stop any Russian naval reinforcements from the Baltic from joining the Squadron. The task fell on the capable shoulders of Admiral Togo.

With the Russian navy in the Far East effectively crippled and bottled up, Japan was free to land its troops at will. Before long Japanese strength was 330,000 men. The Russians numbered slightly over 100,000. Added to this overwhelming numerical superiority was the fact that the Japanese infantryman was proverbially tough, well equipped and trained, and fanatically devoted to his Emperor. The Russian soldier, while hardy and equally brave, lacked the strong motivation inherent in a Japanese, well equipped as he was, the Russian still fought in tactics more suited to battles of the early 1800's than to those of modern warfare. The Russian chain of command, too, suffered from confusion and indecisiveness.

In command of the Russian army was General Alexei Kuropatkin, a former Minister of War, who, despite the jealous intrigues of several rivals — notably Admiral Evgenie Alexiev, the Czar's vicaroy in the Far East — managed to do a competent, soldierly job. His policy was "no major battle until we are in superior force," and he ordered a series of rear-guard actions designed to keep the Japanese off-balance until reinforcements could come in on the Trans-Siberian in the summer. This, however, did not always work out as planned: Russian detachments, assigned to fight and retreat, considered withdrawal a slur on their honour. Many stood and fought

continued

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RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR continued

to the last man, decimating an already under-strength army in his attempt to play for time, Kuropatkin also decided not to risk drawing more Japanese force than was necessary to Port Arthur if the town fell and the Russian fleet were destroyed, it would be an end to his country's Far Eastern ambitions. He decided, instead, to choose Liaoyang as his point of concentration, at the same time sending out a covering detachment to warda the Yalu River.

The battle of the Yalu, the first major engagement of the war, was between the Japanese First Army under General Kuroki — pushing north from Korea into southern Manchuria — and Kuropatkin's covering detachment. The Russians, outnumbered three to one, were badly beaten. Japanese losses were 1,100 out of some 40,000, the Russians lost almost half of their 7,000 troops.

The battle of the Yalu was a momentous one. It marked the first time in modern history that a European power had been defeated by an Asian nation. It mattered little that many of the Russians had escaped or that they had been overwhelmed by sheer force of numbers. What mattered was that they had been beaten.

Sir Ian Hamilton, a Briton who witnessed the battle from the front, had this to say later: "When war was declared, the Japanese were formidable enough in all conscience. They were brave, disciplined, enthusiastic, efficiently officered, honestly administered. They believed the Russians weak in several of these essentials. At the back of their minds, however, existed

a certain vague apprehension — in some undefined, inexplicable way — that the European might, after all, prove the better man on the battlefield. That feeling is now gone, and gone never to return..."

While General Kuroki's victory was being toasted in *sake*, Japan moved fast to improve its position even further. For the moment it was equally in Japan's interest to mark time in Manchuria and to concentrate on obliterating the defence of Port Arthur. Its Second Army was already on its way to its landing point at Pitzuwo, on the eastern coast of the Liaotung Peninsula and to the north of Port Arthur.

There were Russian troops nearby, strongly entrenched and entirely capable of withstanding a Japanese attack. The invaders, in fact, were halted temporarily, their losses high and their progress meagre. The Russian commander, however, lost his nerve and ordered a retreat. Port Arthur and its 60,000 fighting men — for the remainder of the war — were at the mercy of their enemies.

Leaving two divisions to besiege the town, the Japanese 2nd Army advanced northwards to help the 1st Army Kuropatkin, who decided to stand and fight at Liaoyang, inflicted heavy losses on the Japanese there before making another orderly retreat.

For the Russian commander, in fact, Liaoyang was more victory than defeat. Still playing for time by sacrificing territory inch by hard-fought inch, he was at last beginning to receive his long-awaited reinforcements.

But as the newly-arrived troops began disembarking from the trains, it soon became apparent that something had gone wrong. More and more

of the reinforcements were badly-trained and unenthusiastic reservists. The Czar, learning revolts at home, was keeping his crack troops in Europe. This, combined with the fact that his officers were becoming increasingly unreliable, prevented him from taking the offensive again.

In October of 1904 he had a chance to turn the tide — temporarily, at least. For once he found his forces numerically superior to those of the Japanese, but was obliged — largely because of the inexperience of his raw troops — to withdraw to the Sha River. There in a fierce infantry battle, he lost some 30,000 men.

Meanwhile, in Port Arthur, the war was also going badly for the Russians. Admiral Togo was still trying to neutralize the Pacific Squadron, but with little success, since the Russians refused to be drawn out of the harbour. But, because there was a danger — with the increasingly fierce attacks from the Japanese 2nd Army from the north — that the remnants of the Pacific Squadron would be captured, the Russian ships were ordered to attempt to break out and proceed to Vladivostok.

This was what Togo had been waiting for. For four long months he overhauled the Squadron and, in a fierce battle off Round Island — one in which Togo himself was nearly killed by an exploding shell — soundly trounced the Russian fleet. The main body managed to flee back to Port Arthur, where it stayed until it was finally destroyed by the Japanese Army. Those Russian ships that were not sunk scattered and escaped at night to Saigon, Sakhalin and Shanghai, where they were disarmed.

The Battle of the Yellow Sea, as

it came to be known, earned for Togo a personal commendation from the Emperor himself.

Within Port Arthur itself, the confusion and ineptness that had marked the Russian command were again asserting themselves. General Stoessel — who, in a series of blunders, ordered the defenders to leave an almost impregnable stronghold on the neck of the peninsula — refused to hand over his command even when ordered to do so. Probably he was one of the officials who kept the Russian Squadron in port when it should have been fighting outside. He was later labelled a traitor.

Even so the siege, which began on May 30, lasted for seven long months, during which every small advance by the Japanese over the rough, hilly terrain cost them dearly. Wave after wave of Japanese soldiers, yelling "baizai" and intent only on dying for their Emperor, were mowed down by the well-entrenched Russians. It was not until the Japanese fought their way up the strategic "203-metre Hill" and could then fire down at will at exposed Russian positions and warships (whose crews were fighting as infantrymen), that Stoessel decided to surrender. In a telegram to Czar Nicholas, he said: "Great Sovereign, forgive..."

With the fall of Port Arthur — and the resultant release of another 100,000 Japanese troops for action in the north — Kuropatkin's fate was sealed.

By this time, he had fallen back as far as the city of Mukden. His forces had increased considerably, but many were raw and inexperienced troops who had little liking for the alien land in which they found themselves. He was having trouble, too, in keeping them supplied, since the Trans-Siberian's service was still erratic.

Mukden was the war's last and greatest land battle. Each side had some 310,000 men, drawn up in a heavily entrenched front measuring 47 miles in length. At the end of the bloody fighting — which went on for more than two weeks — the Japanese had killed and scattered all three Russian armies. Lying dead on the battlefields were no less than 97,000 Russians and 50,000 Japanese. Kuropatkin admitted defeat and reigned.

Meanwhile, a few months earlier and thousands of miles away, a fleet of 42 Russian ships, manned by more than 12,000 men, had set out from the Baltic Sea to try to turn the tide. Ahead of them lay 18,000 miles of unfriendly waters and, at voyage's end, an unkind fate.

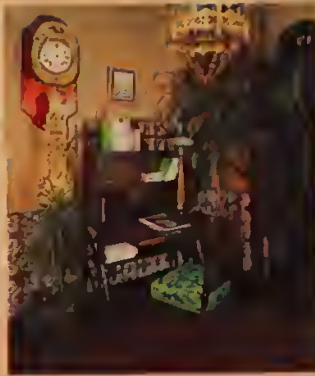
Next Week: Battle of the Tsushima Straits



Russian garrison leaving Port Arthur after surrender salutes victorious Japanese (above) headed for strategic town. Peacemakers at the signing of Treaty of Portsmouth (right) which officially ended war are shown in this photo, from left to right M. Witte, Baron Rosen, President Roosevelt, Baron Komura, M. Tskahira.



Next Issue
Battle of the
Tsushima Straits.



Above: Faux writing-table in simulated bamboo design finished in tortoise-shell effect. Popular during the Victorian era, when chinoiserie was the rage. Top centre: Writing-desk from Filipino-Spanish colonial period. Veneered and finished in baroque tortoise-shell effect. US\$90 at Edgar Ramirez's, Manila. Top right: Louis XV bombe chest in walnut finish, US\$450. Louis XVI Bergers

chairs, US\$95 each. The carved wall panelling, Louis XV period, US\$1,000. Above: Philippine retablo — Most Philippine colonial churches, in true Spanish tradition, had altars backed by a retablo (bas-relief panel). These were frequently decorated with images, painted or carved. The reproduction shown here is made from old molave wood railroad ties to give it the look of a genuine antique. US\$300.



Fabulous Fakes — ZENAIDA SEVA ONG

HOW unabashedly false! Lovingly hand-crafted in faithful reproduction of the original. These are samplings of a limited range — often custom-made

— of period furniture produced in Manila by Edgar Ramirez, interior designer and fashion designer. His shop on fashionable Mabini Street displays a

dazzling collection of copies from aristocratic French (Louis XIV, XV, XVI) to Italian quattrocento, English Tudor, early American, Queen Anne, Chip-

pendale, as well as the more familiar Filipino-Spanish. Twenty expert wood-carvers turn out these magnificent reproductions using that most famous of Philippine hardwoods, narra, and approximating — in finish, intricate inlays, gilding, hardware and upholstery — the opulent look of the original period-piece.

RADHIKA NANDA

INDIAN DARLING OF TOKYO FASHIONS



IN Tokyo's competitive world of fashion modelling, 17-year-old Radhika Nanda has carved a niche for herself. "Discovered" by Hanae Mori, Japan's leading fashion designer, at an Indian Embassy reception, Radhika promptly became a permanent addition to Madame Mori's coterie of mannequins.

Although she lacked formal training ("I knew nothing of modelling when I started"), Radhika proved an instant success at her first fashion show, modelling for Madame Mori.

Now attached to a leading Japanese modelling agency, Radhika ascribes her success and self-confidence and self-reliance to her father, an Army officer who was until recently a military attache to the Indian Embassy in Tokyo. "He doesn't make me do anything, he only suggests. But what he says usually seems right to me," she says.

Radhika has packed a lot of living — and learning — into her two short years in Japan. Having an ear for languages, she soon picked up Japanese and now speaks with a proficiency that is the envy of foreigners who have lived in the country longer.

At school in Tokyo's Sacred Heart, she absorbed much of Japanese culture, taking formal lessons in *sumie* (brush painting) and *ikebana*, the Japanese art of flower arrangement. "But I like to be a little

BY JEAN PEARCE

different. I add a bit of paper to the arrangements, or introduce some other touch. Never anything cruel, nothing that would change the natural beauty of the flowers," she says.

Upon graduation from secondary school, she got an apprentice job in the design department of a textile company that designs sarees and scarves for export.

"My knowledge of *sumie* and *ikebana* helps. I've developed a sense of design from them. And working with the *sumie* brush to develop a design is very exciting." One of her designs for scarves will soon be produced commercially. "Later, if I want to go into fashion designing, all these will add to a wonderful background."

Fashion, and fashion designing, are her first loves. And she has very strong ideas about what she wants — and doesn't want. "I don't like any one style — the thing everybody is wearing this season — I don't want 'one look, but a lot of looks. I like capes and boots and scarves... Scarves! I wear them everywhere — on my hair, as belts, draped on my purse. And jewellery! I love jewellery. Chains, rings..." Each finger of Radhika's hand has a jewel, a combination of antique Indian treasures and



modern trinkets.

Radhika says of Hanae Mori, "Her creations are wonderful. They are for the woman. One just wants to drift on and on in a Mori Hanae creation."

Although her family has returned to India upon completion of her father's tour of duty in Japan, Radhika has elected to stay on in Tokyo to acquire more experience. Later she

plans to go to London, but it could be any place where opportunities might be found. "I want to keep moving... to absorb cultures, to learn, to work."

At seventeen, Radhika has time on her side. Yet she's in a hurry. In Japan she has had her first heady taste of success — and there's a whole big world yet to explore.

WOMEN TALK

BY DENDE MONTILLA



A GIRL'S SECOND BEST FRIEND

THERE'S a fever nearly as catching as the Hong Kong flu — the I-must-have-jade fever. I suspect almost every girl who stays in Hong Kong eventually succumbs to it.

Diamonds are still a girl's best friend, even in Hong Kong. But she figures that a diamond, especially if it's her first, is something special. She'd much rather somebody gave it to her. Jade, on the other hand, can be just as comforting and is often more readily available.

There's no problem about jewellery fashions either — so far as Hong Kong is concerned. Opals, smoky quartz, and sapphires may come and go, but jade is "in" forever.

The tai tai (which can mean either a society matron or number-one wife, depending, I imagine, on which rung of the matrimonial ladder one stands) seems perennially afflicted. She sprinkles her beetle-sized stones with chips of diamonds. Quite practical, I must admit. When she goes out for a session of mah-jong, it must be very reassuring to stretch out a hand that's not only jaded but sparkling as well.

The resident kwai por (female foreign devil, the label the Chinese give to Europeans — sometimes derisively, occasionally endearingly) is immune — for a while at least. Possibly, because there are so many other goodies that catch a newcomer's fancy, like wigs, bangles,

minis, beaded sweaters and handbags, all at fantastic bargains. Then suddenly — wham! — she's had it.

Why, even the average amah, when she aalts swsy her earnings, picks up such essentials as an occasional gold coin, a little flat in Kowloon (which she rents out to an uncle with 10 children), and, most important, a jade ring or two.

The Chinese have a big thing about jade. To them it's more than a jewel. Sometime in the past, someone (a public-relations expert, no doubt) spread the word that jade is a charm of sorts. If you should fall, so the story goes, your jade ring will break and keep the rest of you in one piece.

Gisela, my German sprtment-msts,



who has become an instant jade expert, will not swear by this. Still, she proves what jade can do (or undo) to a girl, including a practical, down-to-earth, no-nonsense frsutein.

It happened to her on a lunch break. She wandered into one of those merchandise-packed stores in the Central District (Hong Kong's business centre), where the price-tags drive women tourists happily mad. That was precisely what happened — she went berserk.

Sha had strongly insisted, "Jewellery, no, no, no. They leave me absolutely cold."

But who can resist this little Chinese sslesman, all smitaa and sweet talk and a jade ring set in Chinese

gold for HK\$45 (roughly a mere US\$7.40, which is what a bangle would cost at Mscya)?

By last report, Gisels had slashed her lunch hour by half to make quick trips to the jewellers.

It isn't difficult to be jade-acquisitive in Hong Kong. There is no single breath-taking Tiffany. Instead there are hundreds of mini-Tiffaniss. At Queen's Road, on the Hong Kong side, and at Nathan Road, in Kowloon across the harbour, you can't walk a few yards without some ahim-ming display catching your eye and your purse. Unless, of course, your will is harder than the stones.

Jade hunting has its own small hazards, however. There is bad jade and quality jade. And jade that isn't jade at all. You find these drkish imitations sold on folding tables by the sidewalks, along with teenie-weenie scarves and plastic earrings.

Now, how to tell the dollar-worthy jade? Mr. Robert Lee gives the following guidelines. And he should know: he is the head of the jade and semi-precious stones manufacturer and is being commissioned by Pierre Cardin to manufacture exclusive Cardin designs.

If the stone is too dark, say, like moss-green or too light with much yellow tint, that's a sign of inferior stone. The quality jade is lush green, vibrant, with a lot of shine in it. It must not be mottled and should be almost translucent.

Individual preference, of course, plays a part. Shopkeepers claim that Europeans prefer the darker shades, the Chinese go for the lighter ones. And the Japanese, bless their hearts, are the big buyers of the high-priced bright green ones.

The best stones, jewellers will tell you, come from Burma. Nephrite jade, which is not top class, comes from Taiwan, China, India, Canada and other sources.

Bargain jade comes as low as HK\$25 (US\$4 or so). About the cheapest hereabouts are, unfortunately, found in the Communist stores, much to the chagrin of American tourists, who require certificates of origin.

It is ridiculous how the prices vary in one shop, for instance, a beauty of a jade ring enriched by 80 diamonds is tagged at HK\$55,000 (US\$9,167).

If you have searched the shops and can't find a setting to your taste (which is unlikely, since there is quite a range available), you can always buy loose stones and have them set. Setting, depending on how many gold carats you use, costs as low as HK\$45.

One thing that's not generally known is that jade isn't always green. It can also be white, black, pink with lavender tint, brown, or what colour have you. The lovely thing about this is you choose your colour to match the colour of your money.



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A 'balanced' Alliance

By Suman Dubey

KUALA LUMPUR

IF there is anything strikingly evident in the pre-election mood here of the past few weeks, it is the supreme confidence of the Alliance Party — the United Malays' National Organization (UMNO), the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) and the Malaysian Indian Congress, which have held power throughout independent Malaysia's young existence — to retain its overwhelming majority in Parliament.

During my trip through Malaysia's corridors of power, I came across little to suggest any concern at the forthcoming elections. True enough, there are dark patches here and there, but the view of the imminent polls is tinged with an air of near boredom.

No sane member of the Opposition will honestly admit, public postures aside, that there can be any change in Malaysia's government this month. By dint of hard work, discipline, pragmatism and an understanding of the Malaysian nation, the Alliance has carved for itself a preminent position in politics. Born casually in 1952 of an electoral pact between the UMNO and the MCA to fight the Kuala Lumpur municipal elections, the Alliance shot dramatically into the forefront, winning all seats but one in the 1955 polls to the Federal Council.

Merdeka in 1957 led to the first country-wide elections and to a fully elected Parliament in 1959, in which the Alliance came in safe with 73 out of 104 seats. Thanks to Sukarno's Confrontation, the people rallied firmly behind Tangku Abdul Rahman's ruling Alliance, returning it to power with 89 seats in the 1964 elections.

THE plight of the Opposition parties has, of course, made things easier for the Alliance. Fragmented in the extreme, most of them are popularly associated with either communal or regional groupings, which limit their popular appeal. The largest, the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party (PMIP), advocates a Muslim Malaya and has a firm hold on rural Kelantan in the north. The Finance Minister, Tun Tan Siew Sin, who considers this appeal "bigoted and religious," doesn't think the PMIP will retain its hold on the State (the Alliance broke the PMIP's control of Trengganu in 1964). The PMIP has nine seats in the present Parliament.

The People's Progressive Party has a limited following, which is re-

stricted to the mining areas of Perak. It has two seats in Parliament. The Democratic Action Party, an offshoot of Singapore's People's Action Party (PAP), is urban-based, and advocates policies followed by the PAP prior to Singapore's break

with Malaysia. It holds one parliamentary seat. Malaysia's Labour Party, which until recently was a part of a Socialist Front with the Partai Ra'ayat (which goes unrepresented in Parliament), is in a sorry state. Many of its members,

The secret of a "secret box" is



particularly from its strongholds in Penang, Selangor and Johore, are in preventive custody under the Internal Security Act for allegedly being involved in Communist activities. The move attracted sharp protest from the Opposition parties.

The Labour Party's two members of Parliament resigned in protest, and the Party plans to boycott the coming elections. Tun Tan Siew Sin told me that the government has evidence that the Labour Party will go still further and try to disrupt the

coming elections.

The most significant new development in Opposition ranks has been the formation of the intellectual-based Gerakan Ra'ayat Malaysia, which comprises the moderate, left-wing splinter group of the La-

bour Party and the remaining members of the dissolved United Democratic Party. The formation of the Gerakan last year has also led to an electoral understanding between it and the Progressives and the Democratic Action Party. The Partai Ra'ayat is also expected not to oppose any candidates of these parties. This will reduce the number of three-cornered contests which — by splitting the Opposition vote in the marginal constituencies — have been its bane. Gerakan's Secretary General, Tan Chee Khoo, affectionately known as "Mr Opposition" for his vociferous anti-government speeches in Parliament, is confident that the arrangement, not the first attempted, will work this time and gain the Opposition some strength. Despite its determination, the Opposition has yet to acquire national status — or, for that matter, break away from the fetters of parochialism. The Gerakan is a step in that direction.

WHAT tilts things in favour of the Alliance is its guiding philosophy on racial harmony. Inche Senu bin Abdul Rahman, Minister of Information and chairman of the Solidarity Conference, told me, "In this country people are still divided. In the Alliance we represent the divisions. The three parties are communal, but taken together, when we discuss things at the Alliance level, they move to what is good for the country and compromise. Often decisions take a long time this way, but it works. With West Malaysia's 8.6 million people comprising 4.3 million Malays, 3.1 million Chinese and nearly 1 million Indians, the Alliance can hardly afford not to work.

The Alliance is communal in structure, but not in practice. By uniting Malay, Chinese and Indian sentiment under one banner it appeals to those who do not believe in racialism and also to those who seek some protection under the constituent parties. And by recognizing the dilemma and taking it by the horns racial conflict is averted. Most Malaysians believe there is no other way of running a multi-racial nation.

The new Parliament is expected to see many new faces. The Opposition obviously hopes that these will be on its benches. But these will more likely be on the side of the Alliance, a result of a "balance" policy — between new blood and old talent. If the Opposition pact pulls its weight as planned, then a few urban constituencies may go out of Alliance control. And there are the marginal east coast seats, which worry the Alliance headquarters. A good guess would be that the Alliance will not come up to its present strength of 121, but will remain comfortably in the hundreds. For sure there will exist no alternative to an Alliance government for a long time. ■

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 **NATIONAL**
MATSUSHITA ELECTRIC



cumstances then will, I believe, greatly facilitate the remodeling of nationalism. For one, the anti-colonial patriots bred in the theories and practices of old-fashioned nationalism will by then have passed from

the Asian political scene.

The new generation of Asians will be more ready to purge nationalism of its archaic contents for two reasons. First, it will not attach to no longer relevant concepts that measure of reverence which the creators of these concepts understandably at-

tached to them. Second, the new generation — because it has another half a century or more to live out in this planet — may not relish the idea of having to spend its lives in spiraling anarchy, decadence and misery — which are all that nationalism, as constituted today, has to offer.

I WILL content myself here with making some general observations about the possible lines of this innovation of nationalism. I shall state these observations as a series of not necessarily interconnected propositions.

The first of these propositions is that nationalism should cease to be an anti-colonial philosophy and should become a philosophy of national development. Between the two there is a wide disparity both of attitudes and of intellectual approach.

Anti-colonial nationalism is essentially a negative and destructive political philosophy. In the context of the anti-colonial struggle, it had no other choice but to be that. Its essential purpose was to make it impossible for the colonial government to govern any longer. It was not concerned with bringing about development or good government — on the contrary, it was concerned with making both development and good government impossible. For only by stimulating and mobilizing mass-discontent could it hasten the fall or retreat of the imperial power.

Anti-colonialism did succeed in its purpose. Imperial regimes liquidated themselves. But because they did not take the precaution of revamping their nationalist creeds and their political parties, after independence the leaders of the new nations soon found themselves hoist with their own petards. Their followers and their parties had so got into the habit of fighting and frustrating governments that it became difficult for independent governments to govern well or even to govern at all.

Constructive and necessary policies were resisted on the grounds that they were no different from those propounded by the hated imperialists. If you read the post-independence history of many new nations you will discover to what extent anti-colonial nationalist parties contributed to the breakdown of the political, economic and administrative machineries in these countries. There are, of course, other reasons for the breakdown. But the negative attitude towards the concept of development is a major factor.

If you read also the pre-independence literature on nationalism you will discover the relative unimportance given to the question of development — whether it be political, social, cultural or economic. The approach of anti-colonial nationalists to these problems was fairly simple and straightforward. All shortcomings in society derived from colonialism. Poverty, disease, disunity, ignorance, exploitation, corruption, maladministration — any social ill you could think of — all these were attributable to the machinations of colonialism.

Get rid of colonialism, so it was implied, and all these terrible things would vanish automatically. For the best part of live decades people were led to believe in this simplistic prescription. It was therefore something of a shock for them to discover

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that this was not so

It will therefore be necessary for the new nationalism to tell the people that social, political and economic development can be successful only if the people are prepared for sustained work, self-denial and considerable sacrifice

THE new nationalism must also stress that the nation-state can never be completely self-contained and sovereign. The nation-state of today has been so permeated by a parallel international system that nations can survive and prosper only by modifying their concepts of sovereignty and national exclusiveness. Their modification has already taken place in actual practice — though the theory of the older nationalism pretends it is not so. The level of actual inter-communication and interaction between nation-states today is far higher than it was in the nineteenth century. We are aware that what happens in other states, whether friendly or hostile, will decisively affect events in our own countries — more so in small and underdeveloped countries.

That is why we find ourselves increasingly involved in the work of various international organizations and groupings — from the United Nations to such bodies as UNESCO, ECAFE, the Colombo Plan, ASEAN and many more. A more significant transgression of the loudly proclaimed concept of sovereignty and self-sufficiency is the passionate and often angry claims we make on advanced countries — some of which we profess to despise — for economic help and even sustenance as a matter of right and justice.

So while the older nationalist doctrine proclaims undiluted national sovereignty and independence of action, the practice is somewhat different. Yet theoretical attachment to doctrines transgressed in practice is one reason for the mounting difficulties encountered by Asian nationalism. A reformulation of these doctrines in more realistic and intellectually honest terms would do Asia and the world a lot of good. It may help Asia to accelerate its pace of real development, as contrasted with spurious development. It may help Asia, for example, to adopt a more regional attitude towards foreign investments, without which development must be slow and intolerably burdensome.

And finally the new nationalism must keep in mind that it has to contend with a world that will before the end of this century be dominated by a technology and science of a very complicated and sophisticated kind. The nineteenth-century nationalism from which we draw our, emotional and intellectual inspiration was meant to cope with relatively simple societies beginning their first industrial revolution. Those concepts cannot cope with the different problems of the post-industrial society, which the

advanced countries are now creating over our heads and which we in Asia must become a part of if we are to play a dignified and satisfying role in the human drama.

The gap between the advanced and the developing countries is already depressingly wide. We have

wasted some two decades since independence in wasteful and irrelevant pursuits. One major reason is that the old nationalism has become a millstone hung round our necks. If we make the effort of renovating our nationalism with determination and boldness then the gap between us

and the advanced countries can be closed far more rapidly than now seems possible. But the longer we postpone this innovation, the more difficult and more problematical will become the prospects of ending the inequalities that now exist between us and the advanced nations. ■



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Last Queen of Yi Court Returns to 'Home'



Helped by her court ladies, Yoonbi steps from her car at the entrance of Naksunjai, where she is greeted by some of her relatives.



Above photo, a reproduction from a rare royal album, shows the prime days of Yoonbi. She is clad in a formal court dress.

By H.S. Kwak

The gray overcast weather, glistening from a drizzling rain, is bad enough for any house-moving. But it seemed mischievous and even splashed a paint of pathos over yesterday morning's house-moving by the last queen of the Yi Dynasty, Yoonbi.

Devoid of all the royal pomp and splendor which would have adorned it half a century ago, the occasion was sober and humble... few pedestrians noticed the modest procession.

The 67-year-old ex-queen, the last remnant of the royalty that reigned over the Korean peninsula for over 500 years, rode into the 3000-pyong Naksunjai (The Inn of Joy and Goodness) within the premises of Changduk Palace

...flanked by two maids.

A handful of Yoonbi's remote relatives, who would not dare trample the freshly-spread sand in the inn's courtyard for fear of leaving their foot-prints in the ex-queen's path, bowed piously as Yoonbi left the navy-blue sedan.

Clad in a light-purple jacket and turquoise skirt, the bespectacled royal lady stood in front of the inn for a while... speechless and not showing a tinge of the emotion revolving within.

This is the house entwined with her tears and sighs.

Here she had lived in complete seclusion since 1926, the year her husband, dethroned King Soonjong, died, until the Communist invasion of 1950

forced her on the southward trek to Kupo, Kyongsang-namdo.

After years of refuge, Yoonbi returned to Seoul in 1953 to find her home dilapidated beyond use. Together with four court ladies who had served her since she became the queen in 1907 at the age of 14, Yoonbi moved into Insoojai, a summer house on the north-eastern outskirts. This was arranged by Dr. Syngman Rhee.

Only last month, custodians of the Yi Dynasty royal properties launched the rehabilitation of the long-ignored structure and its

garden. So far, more than three million hwan has been spent, but much more is needed to give final touches to the repair work.

For the past 15 days, dozens of men have worked day and night to create a reasonable facsimile of a queen's quarter. Until a few minutes before Yoonbi's arrival, men and women had been busy setting up household furniture, much of it shabby, most antique.

As she slowly walked, amid popping flash bulbs, into her room, her pale and somewhat transparent visage was not marred by note of surrounding distractions.

She was still a queen.

The room in which she finally sat herself down still smelled of paint and paste.

Only some of the majestic carved-wood furniture that survived the Communist foray was reminiscent of a queen's living quarters.

No matter how it looks, this is the house in which Yoonbi will live for the rest of her life... with four court-ladies, three guards, and 10 servants... finding her consolation in the plush vegetation surrounding the inn... and a reminder of reality in the sounds of traffic coming from just beyond the wall.



Yoonbi seats herself on a sofa after entering the outer structure of Naksunjai, which she had vacated during the past one decade.



Above is the inner quarter of Naksunjai, where Yoonbi will spend her life.

SEOUL PRICE INDEX DROPS BELOW CRITICAL CEILING

The wholesale price index in Seoul has finally dropped below the critical 125 ceiling set up as the criterion for continuation of the 500:1 exchange rate.

According to the latest official compilation, the index was down to 123.7 as of Thursday. This compares with 125.1 on Tuesday and 132.4 on Sept. 13.

The most recent index re-

presents the first drop below the 125 ceiling since February. In March, the monthly average index rose to 126.9. Afterwards the index remained steadily on a 130 level.

The number 100 represents the base as of September, 1955, the month following the establishment of the pegged exchange rate of 500 hwan to \$1.

Government officials attri-

buted the drop to the continuous downward movement of the grain market, into which the new rice crop has begun to flow.

The high grain prices due to poor harvests had been the principal element forcing the index up above the 125 level.

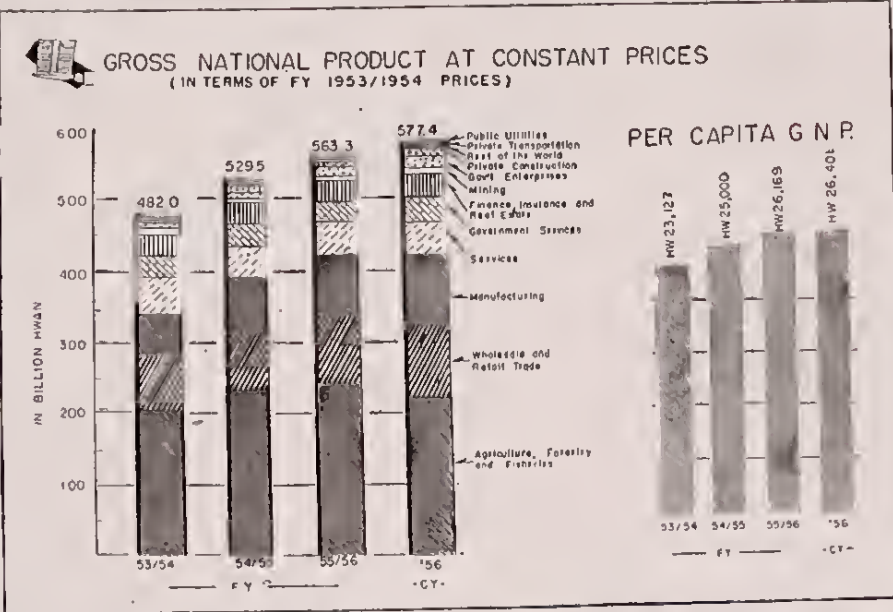
The index of all commodities excluding grain has not gone over the ceiling except

in February and March this year, when psychological factors involved in the sharp increases in rates of public utilities and railroad transportation had a general boosting effect.

The ROK-U.S. exchange rate agreement provides that the 500:1 rate will be subjected to a review if the average of overall wholesale indices in the latter half of

this calendar year exceeds 125.

Since the price index has been repeating the annual pattern of hitting a low point during the last three months of each year, the post-harvest season, the looming certainty is that the index will continue to remain under the 125 ceiling for the rest of this year.



Seoul to Get Traffic Court; Barriers to Go

Metropolitan Police Director Chi Whan Choi said yesterday a summary traffic court will be established in Seoul to deal with traffic accidents and violations exclusively.

He also said the emergency call system of his headquarters is working out well, and that plans are now in progress to better the appearance of this city.

Choi told a press conference that the traffic court is designed to save the parties involved in traffic cases the unnecessary time required in ordinary court proceedings.

The Seoul District Court yesterday reportedly approved Choi's recommendation for establishment of such a court—the first of its kind to be set up in Korea.

Cases Separated

It means that traffic cases will be separated from other cases, civil or criminal, in court proceedings. According to Choi, the district court deals with 100 to 200 traffic cases daily.

The Director also said that the barbed wire encircling public installations and the posts and chains along the sidewalks will be removed soon. The removals will promote the beauty and democratic atmosphere of the capital city, he added.

The "112 Emergency Chamber" in his headquarters, Choi said, dealt with 119 crimes and accidents from July 25 to Thursday. Of cases phoned in, 90 have been solved, he said.

Petrol Product Allocations Cut By CEB Group

The Overall Requirements Committee of the Combined Economic Board yesterday agreed on plans to limit allocations of aid-imported petroleum products to \$4.8 million for the three months beginning in October. The allocation is considerably smaller than past allocations for like periods.

Fishing Nets

The Committee also drafted procurement authorization applications for \$1.8 million worth of salable commodities, including abaca and fishing nets, under the \$100 million first-stage commodity import program being financed with 1950 ICA aid. The PAAs will be sent to Washington after being signed by the CEB representatives. This will complete issuance of PAAs under the first-phase plan.

Visiting Writer Plans Another Trip to Korea

One of the visiting foreign writers, American novelist Mrs. Charlie May Fletcher, said yesterday she hopes to visit Korea again to learn more about the people of Korea.

"When I go home," she said, "I will study about Korea through books. But I regret that there are so few books about the country."

Wants Translations

The author of the biographical novel "Albert Sweitzer" expressed the hope that many books on Korea can be translated into English in the near future.

Mrs. Fletcher is among the 12 foreign writers who returned to Seoul yesterday from a sightseeing tour of the ancient city of Kyongju.

The foreign writers, winding up a nine-day visit to Korea, will leave for home today.

Before their departure, the writers will attend a luncheon party given by Director of the Office of Public Information Chae Kyung Oh.

Chart Discloses Opposing Factors

The above chart tells a story that is heartwarming at one point, but which poses a ponderous question at another.

Last year's per capita gross national production, amounting to \$85.77, rose above that of the pre-War year of 1949, despite the tremendous destruction by the Korean conflict and the sharp increase in population of about 1.7 million over the eight-year period. (The per capita GNP of 1949 was \$78.71.)

But the 1956 level was still considerably lower than the \$112.66 reached in 1930, when Korea was not divided into two as it is today.

The per capita GNP should reach a level of at least a hundred dollars, if this country is to acquire the ability to support itself economically, at the same time carrying the huge burden of defense against Communism.

Toward this goal, expansion of production rapid enough to overtake pressures from population increases is necessary, and to accomplish this, development plans solidly backed by aid from the U.S. and other Free World nations are a must.

Another look at the chart reveals the sad fact that agriculture and fisheries, while employing 70 percent of the population, account for only about 40 percent of the total production.

Industries, such as manufacturing, mining, and construction, account for only about 13 percent of the overall production, showing that the Korean economy still is a long way away from the standard of fully-developed modern countries. (Chart by Courtesy of Reconstruction Ministry)

Invitation to Bid for Procurement with ICA Funds

Ref. No.	Inv. No.	PIO/C No.	Project	Quantity	Opening Date
96	187-M	60357	Seoul National University Operation Facilities	Various	10 a.m. Oct. 30, 1957

REMARKS: For detailed information on specifications, bid bond, performance bond, etc., please refer to the Machinery Section, Bureau of Procurement.

In Kyu Choi, Director, Office of Supply
Government of the Republic of Korea

Invitation to Bid for Procurement with ICA Funds

Ref. No.	Inv. No.	PIO/C No.	Project	Quantity	Opening Date
94	186-M	70196	Meteorological Laboratory	Various	10 a.m. Oct. 21, 1957

REMARKS: For detailed information on specification, bid bond, performance bond, etc., please refer to the Machinery Section, Bureau of Procurement.

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Sinclair Declaration

"We have no wish to find special fault with Japan's lack of fairness or her contempt for our civilization and the principles on which her state rests; we, who have greater cause to remind ourselves, need not spend time in finding fault with others; neither need we, who require so urgently to build for the future, spend useless hours over what is past & gone. Our urgent need today is the rebuilding of this house of ours, and not the discussion of ~~what~~ who has broken it down or what has caused it ruin." -

W. E. B. DuBois

History. Japanese Oppression

See quote - from a Japanese minister Murata (19.2) on
Japanese brutalities - burning of ch. ch., etc
A. D. Brown, The Korea Campaign, Lond., p. 18

The Korean Republic

(西曆1953年8月26日 第三種郵便物認可) (附刊)

Vol. 11 No. 1

SUPPLEMENT, AUGUST 15, 1963

코리아 리퍼블릭 TEL No. 3-2151-9



Thousands of Koreans swarmed Seoul streets on Aug. 15, 1945, when Japan announced her unconditional surrender to the allies, ending 36 years of occupation and paving the way for the independence of the Republic of Korea.

Roses in a Dustbin?

Heat of Political Turmoil Has Marked a Hectic Year

By SEHOON WHANG

Korea politics in the early days of liberation was often alluded to "a dustbin where no roses (democracy) can be expected to thrive."

Today, 17 years since liberation, "that rose is just about to bud," says one revolutionary, none other than Chairman Chung Hee Park himself.

The top leader of the revolutionary government has, through repeated statements and in private talks, deeply committed himself to revolutionizing the famous adage, known to have originated with a traveling foreigner.

Park is firmly convinced that "roses do thrive in the dustbin, provided that it is clean of poisonous elements."

Driven primarily by this urge, the military revolutionaries, during the past two years and four months effected a vigorous and sweeping housecleaning of the dustbin.

In the course of this titanic task, the nation during the past 12 months marked what may be one of the most turbulent and troubled chapters in the history of Korean politics.

While the first test of

ed democracy may be seen in the coming presidential and parliamentary elections, the birth pangs that heralded the coming of the Third Republic has been full of ups and downs.

As part of the groundwork, the nation last December adopted a new constitution, and Chairman Park, in his year end press meet Dec. 27, declared the revolutionaries' intention to join in civilian politics.

Politicians Cleared

Politicians were granted mass clearance from the six-year ban on political activities, new election laws were promulgated, and, of most significance, political activities were reinstated after 19 months of a strict ban.

Unfortunately for Park, however, he little foresaw at his press conference Dec. 27 what a political climate was awaiting him in the year ahead.

In less than a month after the political activities resumed Jan. 1, the nation was once again deep in a political mess.

Elections, according to Park's announcement Dec. 27, were to be held in April and May, and the Third Republic was to have been set up by today.

Pressed by time, money and politicians of some stature, politicians rushed to the streets like water gushing from broken dams.

They demanded total scrapping of the six-year ban imposed by the Political Purification Law; charges were leveled, parties were hastily formed, and quickly politicians became frantic in their search for "another grab at power."

Within a span of 45 days, beginning Feb. 18 through April 8, in the face of pressures from both the opposition and from his own revolutionary camp, Park changed his mind three times.

Renunciation

On Feb. 18, Park, in a dramatic announcement, declared that he would renounce political activities if politicians took a public oath to abide by his nine-point proposal.

Accepting Park's bid, a group of 46 political leaders took an oath of allegiance Feb. 27 at Citizens Hall to "refrain from political bickering and to inherit the revolutionary tasks."

Park, in turn, declared his formal renunciation of the viability of the promis-

political activities and cleared all but 269 of 4,367 politicians banned from politics.

One significant factor leading to Park's sudden decision to withdraw from politics has been directly linked to resignation from the Democratic Republican Party of former Central Intelligence Agency Director Jong Pil Kim.

Kim, then the second most powerful man in the country, was the chief architect of the pro-government party, but was forced to resign when his one-man show inflicted the wrath of fellow revolutionaries.

Quitting politics, the 37-year-old ex-CIA chief Kim left the country on a tour of Europe and the Middle East as a roving presidential envoy Feb. 25, one day before the Democratic Republican Party was formally inaugurated.

Political Freedom

For the ensuing 17 days, politicians had to their fill what they regarded as political freedom. With the revolutionaries now washing their hands of politics, the politicians engaged in bitter interparty squabbling.

At the turn of the year, ex-President Posun Yun and followers of his former New Democratic Party attempted a semblance of opposition integration with ex-Chief Justice Byungno Kim and politicians of defunct Democratic and Liberal Parties and independents.

At about the same time, former Premier Chung Huh of the 1960 interim cabinet also mobilized his former cabinet members and ex-Democrats in an attempt to form a party.

There were host of other "parties" mushrooming, too. Some of these "parties" had neither members nor a party headquarters, but one "patriotic leader" and two or three rough-tough "secretaries," holding "press conferences" at tea-rooms.

There was at the time also talk of deploying an "opposition alliance" between Yun's Minjung Party and Huh's Shinjung Party to oppose Park's Democratic Republicans.

But when Park decided to withdraw from politics, and over 2,300 politicians were granted "political comeback," opposition partners suddenly became foes.

The Minjung Party, which comprised four political factions, was badly split internally, and the Shinjung Party suffered a crippling blow when a group of 500 ex-Democrats bolted the party one month after they joined it.

While political parties thus presented a grim picture, a group of 25 military officers, including two of the most influential revolutionaries, were arrested March 11 shortly before attempting a coup d'etat.

Power-Extension Bid

Against these events, Park, in his second and most dramatic decision pro-



Supreme Council Chairman Chung Hee Park announces his proposal March 16 to extend military rule for four years. General elections for government transfer are now scheduled for mid-October, presidential elections in late November, and establishment of the Third Republic by the end of this year.



Hyunchul Kim, the third premier of the military government addresses a ceremony marking the second anniversary of the may 16 military revolution.



Posun Yun, former president of the ill-fated Democratic government, talks at a news conference. He renounced the presidential nomination of the Minjung Party in a bid to form a united opposition front.



Chairman Chung Hee Park (right) confers with opposition political leaders to discuss means for smooth transfer of power to civilian control. The politicians are ex-President Posun Yun (left) and Chung Huh, former premier of the 1960 caretaker cabinet.



Voters cast ballots in the constitutional referendum last December. The proposal won a great majority of approval throughout the nation.

(Continued on Page 5)

Status of Korean Economy for This Year Holds Hope

By SUNGMIN NAM

The third-year (1964) program of the five-year economic development plan calls for a total of 310,800 million won in the gross national product (GNP), at 1962 market prices, and 5 percent economic growth. The GNP is an increase of 4,830 million won over the 296,000 million won in GNP in 1963, while the growth rate is a decrease of 2.3 percent from the originally planned 7.3-percent growth for 1964.

Reduction of the expected growth rate has been made to meet economic realities and to develop the nation's economy on a stable basis.

The third-year program calls for a total of 53,300 million won in investment, which compares with the originally planned 67,400 million won.

Of the total investment, 26,800 million won will be made up of government financing and the remaining 26,500 million won will come from private capital.

Under the 1964 program, emphasis is to be on implementation of projects already being undertaken instead of initiating new pro-

jects, according to the Economic Planning Board (EPB).

The government is to give priority to finance for modernization and mechanization of farming rather than advancing general-purpose farming loans to farmers in the primary industry sector.

The total available resources in 1964 are estimated to reach 348,750 million won, which compares with 341,740 million won in 1963.

Net donations, including U.S. grant-type aid, and increase in government borrowing in 1964, are expected to total 37,950 million won, a decrease of 7,790 million won over that of 1963.

Consumption expenditures in 1964 will amount to 295,500 million won, which shows a decrease of 9,230 million won over that of this year.

Consumption expenditures break down to 246,950 million won in private expenditure and 48,550 million won for the government.

The disposition of the total available resources is to total 348,750 million won.

In international payments, commodity exports are expected to reach \$94 million, while importation of foreign commodities is to total \$464 million.

Commodities importation is a decrease of \$23 million over that of this year.

Under the 1964 program, the government estimates U.S. aid to Korea, including surplus grain under U.S. Public Law 480, is to reach \$217,600,000, and foreign loans to be obtained to total \$88,300,000.

Meanwhile, the government expects a \$5,900,000 surplus in government foreign exchange (KFX) holdings, which contrasts with the originally estimated deficit of \$18,500,000 in KFX in 1963.

Under the revised three-year program, the government expects primary industry to develop 3.4-percent growth, a 2.8-percent decrease over that of this year's; secondary industry is to attain 10.8-percent growth, a 1.6-percent decrease over that of 1963; tertiary industry is to reach 3.1-percent growth, a 0.7-percent decrease over that of this year.

For the expected growth

of each industrial group, a total of 8,900 million won is to be invested in primary industry (agriculture, forestry and fisheries), 25,400 million won in secondary industry (mining, manufacturing, electricity and construction), and 18,640 million won in tertiary industry (transportation, communication, housing, education and others).

In addition, 310 million won is to go for the technical development program for 1964.

In order to implement the three-year program, the government calls for maintenance of economic stabilization, promotion of exports, enhancement of austerity movement of the people for reduction of spending and encouragement of private investment.

For the development of industrial sectors, the government puts major emphasis on transfer of many projects to private sectors, on development of energy resources, extension of social overhead capitals, development of import-substitute industry, promotion of small-medium industries, improvement of industrial techniques and curbing the

population growth.

In the first year (1962) of the five-year economic development plan, a total of 108 industrial projects were undertaken with 54,212 million won.

Of the total projects, 86 projects have completed over 80 percent of the programmed goals, nine projects have progressed over 60 percent and the remaining seven projects under 60 percent, according to the EPB.

The GNP in 1962 registered a mere 2.4 percent growth because of a reduction of the fall harvest in 1962 compared to the annual average grain production.

In contrast, secondary industry registered 15.2 percent growth against the planned 11.1 percent and tertiary industry 7.3-percent growth against the programmed 3.8 percent.

The second year (1963) program of the five-year economic plan expects to implement a total of 118 industrial projects, envisaging a 5.8-percent growth of the GNP.

Of the total projects, 20 projects belong to primary

(Continued on Page 4)

Progress Status of Foreign Capital Investment — Private Loans

(As of June 1, 1963)

Creditors	Projects	Borrowers	Loan Agreed	Ordered	Down payment sent	L/C opened	Loan agreement signed	Repayment terms		
								Annual interest rate (%)	Duration (years)	Down payment
Polysius (German)	Cement plant #4	Hani Cement Co.	5,182,000	5,811,500	290,577	290,577	62.5.20	6	5	25%
K H. D. (German)	Cement plant #6	Tsanyong Cement Co.	6,495,000	6,495,000	324,750	324,750	62.11.20	6	10	15%
Escher Wyss (German)	Semi-chemical pulp plant	Samyang Paper Mfg Co.	617,000	616,743	61,673	61,673	62.2.7	7	4	20%
Escher Wyss (Switzerland)	Quick-freezing plant	Samyang Co.	280,000	280,000	280,000	280,000	62.4.20	7	4	20%
Fuhrmeister (German)	Electric apparatus plant	Gold Star Co.	1,250,000	1,250,000	62,500	1,250,000	62.2.21	6.5	5	20%
Kanematsury (U. S. A.)	Importation of tuna long liner	Jedong Industrial Co.	620,000	—	—	—	62.11.15	6	5	—
Coutinho Caro (German)	Ramie spinning plant	Tongbaeng Textile Co.	725,000	—	—	—	63.1.21	6	5	—
SAMC (France)	—	—	2,475,000	—	—	—	63.1.16	6	5	—
Esher Wyss (German)	Printing paper plant	Sam Pung Paper Mfg. Co.	292,000	292,260	29,226	29,226	62.2.22	7	4	20%
Fuhrmeister (German)	Transmission line mfg. plant	Korea Cable Ind. Co.	2,950,000	—	—	—	62.4.19	6.5	5	15%
Fokker (Netherlands)	Importation of civil air plant	Korea Air-Line Co.	2,078,000	2,078,000	223,054	2,078,000	62.11.16	6	5	20%
Coutinho (German)	Textile Apparatus	Baichang Ind. Co.	1,000,000	—	—	—	62.5.2	5.5	5	20%
Plott Bros Ltd. (England)	Synthetic blend yarn plant	Ilshin Spinning Co.	569,000	534,931	53,492	534,931	62.4.19	6	4	20%
Uebersee Handle A. G. (Switzerland)	Importation of tuna long liner	Korea Fishing Co.	1,441,000	—	—	—	63.1.30	6	5	15%
Starkist Food I. N. C. (U.S.A.)	Importation of tuna long liner	Dongwha Construction Co.	180,000	—	—	—	61.7.31	6	5	—
Coutinho Caro (German)	Fused phosphate mfg. plant	Poongnong Fertilizer Ind.	985,000	—	—	—	62.4.5	5.5	8	15%
Arne Larsson Co. (Sweden)	Importation of vessels	Daiban Sea-Line Corporation	9,300,000	—	—	—	62.12.7	6	7	—
I G E. (U. S. A.)	Pusan thermal plant	Korea Electric Co.	3,500,000	—	—	—	62.4.10	3(6%)2(8%)	6.6	—
Maierform S. A. (German)	Importation of tuna long liner	Konghung Industrial Co.	1,500,000	—	—	—	62.12.11	6	5	—
(Italy & France)	Importation & construction of fishing vessels	Fishing Development Corp. (Gov't)	55,151,000	—	—	—	62.8.8	5.5	7	—
Didol Ferrostaal (German)	Viscose Rayonyarn plant (1)	—	5,118,000	—	—	—	—	—	7	—
American Trading Co. (U. S. A.)	— (2)	—	5,500,000	—	—	—	62.12.20	6	10.4	—
Ingolstat (German)	Bast & Staple fiber plant	—	4,853,000	—	—	—	63.1.29	6	10	—
	Total		112,059,000	17,368,425	1,325,272	4,649,157				

Source: Economic Planning Board

Note: In addition to the above loan agreements, direct and joint investments on the following 3 projects are approved by the Foreign Investment Promotion Committee.

1. Direct investment: \$ 1,000 thousand for Gold, silver & copper mine development
2. Joint investment: \$ 3,000 thousand for Automobiles mfg. plant for army use
3. " : \$ 579 thousand for Filament nylon yarn plant

Economics

Progress Status of Foreign Capital Investment — Public Loans

(Continued from Page 3)
 industry, 38 projects to secondary industry and 60 projects to tertiary industry.

Of the projects in primary industry, the livestock husbandry development projects calling for a total of 1,141,300,000 won have progressed 7.5 percent and the sericulture development projects requiring 189,500,000 won have progressed 39.9 percent for the first quarter of this year.

The Namgang River basin development project, which envisages irrigating 19,600 acres of land, has been completed 75.7 percent during the period.

During the same period, the ginseng cultivation project, calling for 360 million won, has progressed 20 percent, the industrial crop project requiring 68,700,000 won progressed 18.9 percent and the tobacco-raising project calling for 118,900,000 won has been completed 16.5 percent.

In secondary industry, the construction project of an oil refinery plant at Ulsan, Kyongsangnamdo, has progressed 40.9 percent of this year's goal, the construction project of the Honam Fertilizer Plant has been completed 73.9 percent of this year's target and the shipbuilding development project, calling for a total of 406 million won for this year, progressed 48.3 percent.

In tertiary industry, the Pusan thermal electric power plant project has progressed 20.2 percent

Source	Projects	Borrowers	Loan agreed	Procured	Arrived	Agreement signed	Repayment terms		
							Annual interest (%)	Duration (years)	Currency to be repaid
A I D	Extension of cement plant	Tongyang Cement Co.	2,140,000	2,139,599	2,139,599	59. 1. 20	5.25	7.6	won
	Extension of communication facilities	MOC	3,500,000	3,499,967	2,881,456	59. 4. 8	3.5	19.6	"
	Design of Choong-ju hydro-power plant	KECO	1,500,000	1,114,631	1,114,631	59. 5. 26	5.5	8	"
	Soda ash plant	Tongyang Chemical Co.	5,600,000	289,150	289,150	59. 12. 1	5.75	14	"
	Small industry Development	KRB	5,000,000	510,820	292,000	60. 4. 12	5	9	"
	Nylon plant	Hankuk Nylon Co.	3,200,000	2,560,000	981,891	61. 2. 16	5.75	7.6	"
	Pusan thermal plant	KECO	20,900,000	9,209,353	2,521,331	62. 4. 4	0.75	30	Dollar
	Cement plant #3	Hyundae Construction Co.	4,250,000	—	—	62. 7. 13	0.75	30	"
	Importation of diesel locomotives	MOT	8,300,000	—	—	62. 10. 29	0.75	30	"
	Importation of passenger coaches & rolling stocks	MOT	9,509,000	—	—	—	3.5	12	"
I D A	Tele-communication facilities	MOC	14,000,000	—	—	62. 8. 17	0.75	40	"
	Extension of shipbuilding yard	Korea Ship-Building Co.	4,820,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Coal mine development	DHCC	5,180,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Total		96,649,000	9,323,520	9,237,567				

Source: Economic Planning Board

Note: In addition to the above (loan approved), loan applications on 10 projects amounting to \$ 100,255 thousands have been submitted and 5 projects amounting to \$102,333 thousand are under technical study.

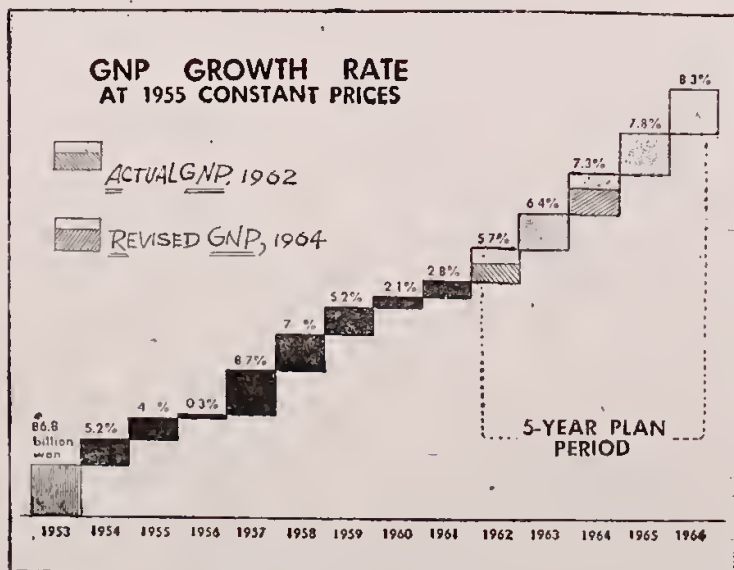
with 21,500,000 won, the construction project of the Somjing River hydroelectric power plant has been completed 9.1 percent, the Chunchon hydroelectric power plant construction project progressed 4.2 percent and the importation

of diesel locomotives has been completed 96.8 percent during the first quarter of this year.

The industrial highway construction project has progressed 60 percent of this year's portion, port repair and drainage project

progressed 82.2 percent, the five-year economic importation project of cargo ships totaling 55,000 tons progressed 6 percent and airport extension project saw 16.6 percent progress during the same period.

For implementation of industrial projects as of June 1 of this year.



Gross National Product and Total Available Resources

(At 1962 market prices)
 Unit 100 million won.

	1963	1964
GNP	2,960.0	3,108.3
Net Donations & Increase in Borrowing	457.4	379.5
Total Available Resources	3,417.4	3,487.5
Consumption		
Expenditures private	2,863.7	2,955.0
government	2,360.8	2,469.5
Total Capital Formation	553.7	532.5
Disposition of Total available Resources	3,417.4	3,491.1

Ginseng Exports Rise With Stricter Controls

Korean ginseng, the famous "cure-all" herb medicine, is restoring its popularity among overseas buyers since the government instituted strict inspection of quality products beginning this year.

Korean ginseng products have gained a mounting number of consumers since they were first exported to Southeast Asian countries in 1957.

The biggest Korean ginseng buyers are Burma, Thailand, Malaya, West Germany, the United States and Hongkong in that order, an official of the National Exhibition Center said.

As the fame of Korean ginseng increased, a vast number of irresponsible manufacturers exported hundreds of low quality products at low prices, causing confusion among regular buyers and hurting the reputation of Korean goods in general.

In addition, Korean ginseng encountered another trial when Red China and Communist north Korea began exporting similar tonics. Their products were said to be well-inspected in their advertisements.

This year the government revised the law concerning sales of ginseng products in a stepped up measure to regain the confidence of foreign customers.

As a result, unqualified manufacturers were eliminated automatically.

Today five major ginseng producers are pooling their efforts in ginseng exports with improved quality and closer cooperation.

The five producers, Bum Ah Trade Co., New Korean Products Co., Ryu Wha Industrial Co., Poongki Ginseng Pharmaceutical Co. and Korea Royal Jelly Co., are seeking a unified strategy through the National Exhibition Center.

Their products include ginseng wine, ginseng tonic, ginseng tea and ginseng syrup.

Each company exports an average of \$20,000 to \$30,000 of the medicine each year.

All products are made under strict supervision by government authorities during the entire process, one of the company officials said.

Every product undergoes a thorough inspection at the Central Chemical Laboratory. Bottles and packings are inspected by the Central Industrial Laboratory and ginseng wines are tested at the Central Brewery Laboratory.

Ginseng has a history of more than 2,000 years in medicinal use.

Herb doctors claim ginseng works wonders on



This is a typical Korean ginseng root. Even the smallest root is used for various medicinal purposes.

weakness during and after illness and is good for general poor health, anemia, nervous prostration, headache, diabetes and loss of appetite.

Modern chemists also agree that ginseng, a perennial plant, is rich in alumina, phosphate salts, silica, vitamins A and E, vitamin B complex, and a newly discovered substance called T-factor.

It also was recently proved to be a remedy for arteriosclerosis and high blood pressure by a medical team from the Seoul National University Medical College.



Hundreds of Korean ginseng products are displayed at the National Exhibition Center in Seoul. These products are made under strict supervision and inspection of the government.



NEW BOOKS

Essays by Sir Hancock; Full of New, Old Theories

The New World Looks at Its History. Edited by Archibald R. Lewis and Thomas F. McGinn. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press. 220 pp. \$4. Reviewed by James Nelson Goodsell

When Frederick Jackson Turner put forward his "frontier hypothesis" in 1893, he set in motion one of the great historical theories of all time and generated a debate that still rages. Turner, as Sir Keith Hancock in one of the more delightful essays in this attractive book says, "proclaimed the significance of the frontier in American history." He held that many of the unique features of American thought and character can be ascribed to the nation's pioneering experience.

The Turner thesis is the underlying theme in most of the essays which make up "The New World Looks at Its History." These essays were originally papers delivered at the Second International Congress of Congress of Historians of the United States and Mexico, held at the University of Texas campus at Austin, in November of 1958. Together in book form they make a readable and fascinating package.

Since Turner expounded his theory, the frontier concept has spread, finding its way into historical analyses of a variety of regions. Several of the papers delivered at the

Texas conference, and included in this volume, treat the Spanish frontier. Here, the eminent Spanish medievalist, Claudio Sanchez-Albornoz, writes about the Castilian frontier in Spanish history:

"The history of no other European peoples, including those of the Iberian Peninsula, has been so decisively modified by a frontier as that of Castile. The wide-open frontier of this region exercised an important influence century after century, as long as it continued to exist. . . . Because these lands (those of Castile and Alava) drained by the upper Ebro and its affluents were on the frontier for more than a hundred years — a frontier characterized by the harsh will to resist and the iron will to fight of an entire people—the inhabitants acquired their unique national dynamic and consciousness of their own strength which eventually provoked unrest and then

secession."

Not all frontiers have led to unrest and secession—but all frontiers have had that development of a national dynamic and a consciousness of their own strength. The essays in this book ably illustrate this.

But Ray Allen Billington of Northwestern University thinks that the American frontier produced traits and institutions which "differ from those of other frontier countries whose evolution has been roughly similar." He says that the American frontier had three factors which made it "virtually unique": "(1) the environment offered an unrivaled opportunity for individual self-advancement, (2) its early settlers were unusually well equipped to utilize this opportunity to the full, and (3) its resources were so abundant that their continued exploitation allowed a frontierlike atmosphere to persist long after the frontier was closed."

Experienced Author Tells of Pacific Isles

Where the Bong Tree Grows: The Log of One Man's Journey in the South Pacific. by James Ramsey Ullman. Cleveland: World Publishing Company. 316 pp. \$5.95. Reviewed by Roland Sawyer

James Ramsey Ullman wanted to see for himself to what extent an outsider can find paradise in the Pacific islands. Were they "les îles d'illusion," or not? Well he knew the stereotyped legends: the spectacularly beautiful scenery, the normal balm of the climate, the ease of obtaining the necessities of life, the charm of the island peoples. He foresaw a journey of discovery that innumerable writers, artists, sailors and missionaries had made, and recorded, already. What could he tell us, experienced author that he is, that had not been published fifty times and, he feared, perhaps better written?

These pages do not portray much that is new. Of course, the author did not find paradise unalloyed; he did not expect to, really. What then do we have that makes this book a contribution to the literature of the Pacific? We have essentially a remarkably true record of the impact of the South Seas upon an open and inquiring mind. On the opening page the author advises that this is "simply an account of individual experience." His observations, he says rightly, are made from the basis of truths he has entertained

acquired, long before. He calls these his "spiritual baggage."

For the most part this baggage is no impediment. Ullman traveled by every available sort of conveyance for over a year. He saw the Pacific from Hawaii, Guam (via Wake), Truk, Majuro, Tarawa, Fiji, Samoa, Tahiti, and the Marquesas. He saw it from innumerable lesser-known islands. He saw it through the eyes of peoples whose variety is almost as endless as their islands. He saw it through his own discerning eye, a man already much traveled in remoter parts as well as in established places. He saw it with a fine sense of humor touched by irony. And he saw it also as one who had experienced vicissitudes of life in the United States.

When he sailed through the Golden Gate the author was alone. He and his wife had separated, their two grown sons having started on their own journey in life. It is clear that this schism had cut him deeply. This was part of the baggage. It lay not far below the surface of his thoughts and emotions as he traveled but it is no hindrance to his story.

Near the end, in the Society Islands, Ullman experienced a way of living acceptable there but one which could be considered by others either distasteful or reproachable. It was here that the inner man and his mortal sense of paradise clashed.

Major Events Since 1945 Recounted



General Douglas MacArthur (center) is shown leading his staff after the successful surprise landing of the elements of the United Nations Command at Inchon in September 1950, three months after the Communist north Koreans staged an unprovoked war against south Korea.



Gen. Mark W. Clark, commander in chief, United Nations Command, signs the military armistice agreement at Munsan-ni July 27, 1953. This was the beginning of the longest armistice to be recorded in history.



An Army tank patrols downtown Seoul in support of the May 1961 revolution. Here crowds of cheering people greet the military forces who established a 30-member Revolutionary Committee May 18.

Republic Survives Numerous Challenges

1945
July 26—The Potsdam Declaration affirms Korea's independence.

Aug. 15—Japan surrenders to the allied forces. Korea was subsequently divided under the allied occupation forces by the 38th parallel under the Yalta Agreement of Feb. 21, 1945.

Dec. 27 — The Moscow Conference announces the establishment of a trusteeship over Korea.

1946
March 20 — U.S.-USSR Joint Commission meets at Duksoo Palace. It went into recess indefinitely in August, 1947.

Feb. 5 — The U.S. Military Government appoints Koreans to high government post.

1947
Nov. 14 — The U.N. General Assembly adopts a resolution calling for the creation of a provisional government in Korea, and subsequent withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea.

1948
May 10 — General elections are held south of the 38th parallel under the supervision of the U.N. Commission.

May 31 — The Constituent Assembly adopts the Constitution and elects Syngman Rhee president and Shiyong Lee vice president.

Aug. 15 — The Government of the Republic of Korea is established and Syngman Rhee becomes first President.

Dec. 9 — The U.N. General Assembly recognizes the Republic of Korea as the sole legitimate government in Korea.

1949
Jan. 1 — The U.S. occupation forces withdraw from south Korea.

1950
June 20 — The second National Assembly convenes following general elections May 10.

June 25 — The north Korean Communist army unleashes an unprovoked attack upon the Republic.

June 26 — The U.N. Security Council declares the Communist invasion a "breach of peace." Two days later it called upon U.N. member nations to rush military assistance to Korea.

June 28 — Seoul falls into the hands of the Communist.

July 8 — The United Nations Command is established under the command of Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

Sept. 15 — The U.N. forces launch all-out counteroffense with historic landing at Inchon.

Sept. 28 — The U.N. forces recapture Seoul from the Communists, and

the government and the National Assembly returns to the capital from Pusan.

Oct. 19 — The Chinese Communist army intervenes with the Korean War.

1951
Jan. 4 — Seoul falls again to the Communist army back beyond the 38th parallel.

June 24 — USSR delegate to the U.N. Jacob Malik proposes a truce in Korea.

Oct. 20 — ROK-Japan talks open in Tokyo.

1952
Aug. 5 — President Rhee is elected for a second term, and Taeyung Ham is elected vice president.

Dec. 25 — Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, then the president-elect of the United States, visits.

1953

Feb. 14 — A currency reform is effected under a presidential decree.

July 27 — Korean Armistice Agreement is concluded between the UNC and the north Korean and Chinese Communists.

June 18 — President Rhee frees anti-Communist north Korean war prisoners in south Korea; 27,000 out of a total of 34,000 prisoners are granted the rights to reside in the Republic.

Nov. 27 — President Rhee flies to Taipei on a state visit with President Chiang Kai-shek.

1954

May 20 — General elections for the third National Assembly are held.

June 15-18 — The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League is formally organized in Chinhae under the initiatives of the Republic of Korea.

1956

May 15—President Rhee is reelected to a term and John M. Chang of the then opposition Democratic Party is elected vice president.

1957

June 21 — The UNC denounces paragraph 13d of the Armistice Agreement to introduce new weapons for U.N. Forces.

Sept. 18 — Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem arrives in Seoul on a three-day state visit.

1959

Dec. 14 — A group of 975 Korean residents in Japan are deported to north Korea.

1960

March 15 — Presidential elections are held.

April 19 — University students in Seoul demonstrate against the March 15 elections.

April 26 — President Rhee resigns.

April 27 — Interim cabinet is formed under Premier Chung Huh.

June 19 — U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower arrives in Seoul on a state visit.

July 29. — General elections for National Assembly are held.

Aug. 2 — Rep. Posun Yun is elected president of the Second Republic.

Aug. 19 — John M. Chang is named premier.

1961

May 16 — The revolutionary forces under the command of Gen. Chung Hee Park take over the Chang government.

May 18 — A 30-member military Revolutionary Committee was established.

May 19 — The Military Revolutionary Committee is renamed the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction.

July 3 — The Supreme Council names its vice Chairman Chung Hee Park chairman.

Nov. 14 — Chairman Park arrives in Washington.

1962

March 24 — President Posun Yun resigns. Chairman Park assumes the office of Acting President.

May 1 — The International Music Festival opens at the Citizens Hall.

May 12 — The Ninth Asian Film Festival opens in Seoul.

June 10 — A Currency reform was effected.

June 16 — Premier Yochan Song resigns, and Chairman Park assumes the premiership.

July 10 — Chairman Park names Hyun-chul Kim premier.

Dec. 6 — The government lifts martial law.

Dec. 17 — The constitutional amendments were approved in a national referendum.

1963

Jan. 1 — The government allows the resumption of political activities.

Feb. 26—Democratic Republican Party is inaugurated.

Feb. 27 — Chairman Chung Hee Park announces his decision not to participate in civilian government.

March 16 — Chairman Chung Hee Park proposes a referendum to decide on whether to extend military rule.

March 28 — The Democratic Republican Party nominates Chairman Chung Hee Park as its presidential candidate.

April 8 — Chairman Chung Hee Park withdraws his March 16 proposal.

May 14 — The Minjung Party is formally inaugurated.

May 17 — North and South Korean athletic delegates meet in Hong-kong to seek a formula for organizing a joint team for the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games.

Korea Remembers Her Bitter Fight for Freedom

(Continued from Page 12)
ple's Party) with other patriots—Shin Chaeho, Li Tonghwi and Li Tongyoung, to lead an organized movement for independence.

In the following year, Hirobumi Ito, president of the Japanese Privy Council, became the first Inspector General to actually govern Korea. This touched off resistance throughout the country. High court officials addressed an anti-Japanese memorial to the Throne. Daily newspapers, including the Hwangung Shinmun and the Daehan Maeil Shinmun with its publisher, Ernest T. Bethel, a British national, denounced the treaty.

A former government official, Min Chongsik staged the first organized rebellion against the Japanese and their puppet cabinet. More than 600 volunteers joined the revolt. Almost all of the American missionaries, including Homer B. Hulbert, only backed the Koreans in fighting for independence.

Mission Failed

Meanwhile, King Kojong, in the face of Japanese aggression, secretly sent three delegates to the Second International Peace Conference, held in 1907 at The Hague, Netherlands, to plead his country's cause. One of the three delegates was Yi Jun, who killed himself after he failed to convince the conference of Japanese aggression. This mission caused the abdication of the king under Japanese pressure.

His successor, King Soojong, the last king of the Yi Dynasty, was a mere figurehead. The administration was placed almost entirely under Japanese control and the Korean army was ordered disbanded. This led to widespread insurrection and a war of independence, which was suppressed only with great difficulty after years of fighting. In 1910, help-

less Korea was formally annexed by Japan, and renamed Chosun. The Yi royal family members were placed under Japanese protection.

Another Agreement

At the news of the disbanding of the Korean army, Pak Sungwhan, then commander of the royal army, committed suicide. Immediately after the Japanese signed another protectorate agreement for more effective control of the nation, Min Youngwhan and other leading patriots killed themselves in protest against Japanese ambition.

Resistance Movement

These developments served to aggravate strong anti-Japanese sentiments. Street demonstrations and large scale general strikes were staged day after day through the whole nation. An estimated 60,000 insurgents participated in the resistance over a period of three years. Among them, 17,600 were killed or wounded by the Japanese police.

In this resistance movement, the YMCA, the Daehanjangang Hoe (the Association for Strengthening Korea) played a leading role. Among their leaders were Yun Chihho, Chang Chiyon and Yun Hyojung.

The hatred of the Koreans toward the Japanese also appeared in a series of assassinations of Japanese leaders and their sympathizers. An American citizen, Stevens, then adviser to the Foreign Office in Tokyo, was slain by two Korean patriots in San Francisco in 1908. In the following year, Hirobumi Ito was assassinated by Ahn Chunggun at Harbin. Yi Wanyong was wounded by Yi Chaemyong on the same year. These assassins were arrested and executed.

Japanese Domination

The annexation deprived the Koreans of freedom in every field of social life. The first Governor General Masataga Terau-

chi used stronger police control. Under Japanese domination independence aspirations had never disappeared in spite of ruthless suppression by the Japanese.

During the first ten years of Japanese rule, more than 200,000 patriots were arrested or imprisoned. Terauchi, once shot by a Korean patriot, ruthlessly suppressed any independence movement, so that most of the independence leaders fled abroad or went underground. The 105-Man Incident of 1911 was one of the significant independence movements staged in Korea and was led by Yun Chihho, Yang Kitak and Yi Hisung in the years of Terauchi's administration.

Samil Movement

The most significant chapter in the history of the national independence movement was the Samil (1st of March) Independence Movement of 1919. Inspired by the International movement for independence and self-determination initiated by the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, the Koreans, both in and out of the country, held a nationwide demonstration, calling for immediate independence.

The movement was originated by a students' declaration of independence in February of the same year in Tokyo. This declaration was followed by organized street demonstrations throughout the nation. Read by Han Yongun, one of the 33 nationalist heroes who had signed the Declaration of Independence, the Samil Declaration triggered the passive but tenacious resistance against the Japanese.

More than 2 million people participated in 1,500 resistance rallies throughout the country. In suppressing nationwide resistance, the Japanese shot, bayoneted, burned, hanged, or beat to death no fewer than 7,500 patriots. At

least 49,984 were thrown into jail. The world witnessed some of the worst atrocities in human history. Among the leaders was heroine Yoo Kwan, soon.

The Government did not attain independence immediately, but it resulted in new and more effective fighting for independence. The group of exiles established the Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai in April of the same year. Syngman Rhee was elected President. Ahn Changho, Kim Kyushik and Kim Koo were also key members of the government.

In 1926, another independence movement was staged in the Seoul streets by a group of students under the leadership of Yi Byongnip and Pak Hakyun. The resistance, however, was suppressed in its first stage and 1,000 or more agitators were arrested and thrown into jail.

Kwangju Uprising

In 1929, the famous Kwangju Student Resistance arose with the support from the Shinkanhoe (the New Foundation Society), a united nationalist group organized in 1927 under Yi Sangjae. The group was formed to end the Socialist hegemony in independence movements both at home and abroad. A total of 54,000 students in major cities took part in the sympathy strikes for their colleagues in Kwangju in the following three years.

Socialist Influence

In the 20s and 30s, the Socialist influence was growing in every country and in suppressed nations in particular. The Korean Communist party was first organized in 1925. The Socialist youth groups came into existence in the following years.

Chinese Support

The independence movement abroad at that time was launched by four major parties. In China, under the leadership of

Kim Koo, the Uiyoldan (the Patriot's Club for Justice) exploited underground terroristic methods in fighting for independence. The members of the group — among them Yi Pongchang and Yoon Ponggil — attacked the Japanese emperor in Tokyo in 1932 and in Shanghai the same year. The group was receiving financial support from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in fighting against the Japanese. Since the Japanese aggression in China in 1937, there had been a center for them in Chungking.

In Manchuria, the Kwangbok (the Independence) Army, organized in 1920 with 4,000 volunteers, had maintained military action against the Japanese army in the area. Led by Gen. Kim Chwajin, Gen. Chi Chungchon and Gen. Yi Bumsuk, the army finally cooperated with the Allies forced in the war against Japan.

In Siberia and the Russian Far East, Yi Tongnyong and Yi Siyoung led a movement to organize Korean youth in exile into effective fighting units.

Exile Group

The first group of exiles established themselves in the United States. Ahn Changho organized a cultural group, Hungsadan, in Los Angeles in 1913 with other patriots, to launch a movement for independence. Syngman Rhee led another political group of exiles and appealed to political leaders in Washington for national independence before and during the second World War.

In the history of the independence movement during the years of Japanese domination, the most significant achievement is that national leaders established educational institutes at home for the generations to come. Among such institutes were the Posung, Osan and Daesung Schools.



All Seoul stores are closed in support of nationwide demonstrations March 1, 1919 against Japanese rule.

18 Years' Struggle for Independence Reviewed

By SUNJOO LEE

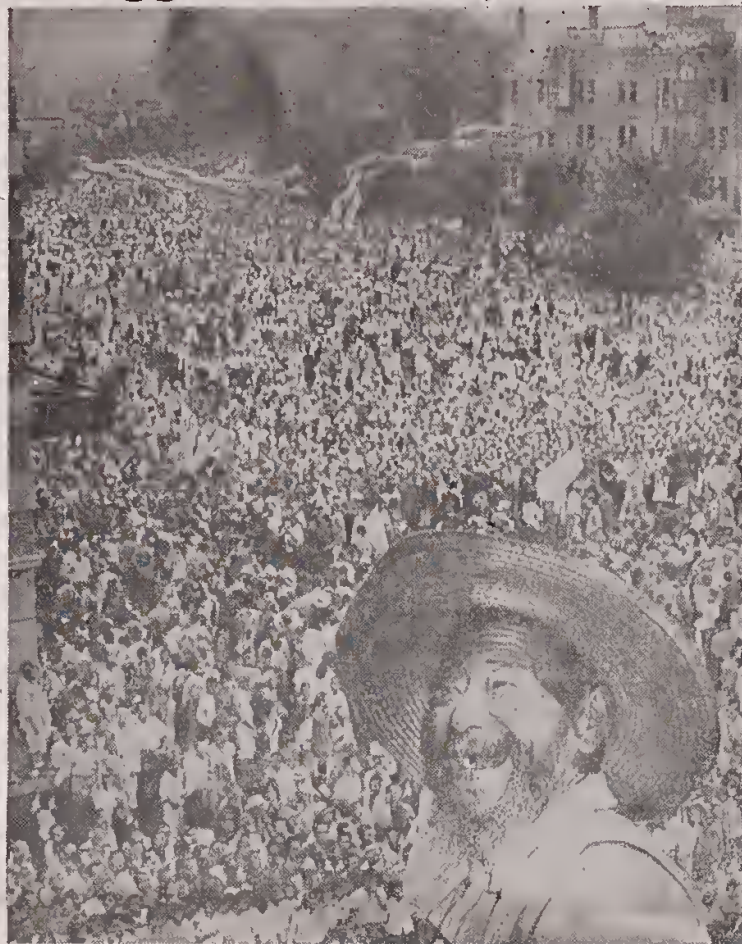
Eighteen years ago today, Korea was liberated from 35 years of Japanese rule. At that time the Japanese Empire unconditionally surrendered to the Allies, ending the second World War. The liberation of Korea was unquestionably one of the Allies' war policies. The leading powers of the Allies — the United States, China, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union had committed themselves to Korean independence at Cairo and Potsdam.

Unfortunately, the liberation was not followed immediately by the complete independence of the nation. The nation was divided in two at the 38th parallel, which was originally nothing more than a temporary military line for a joint zonal occupation. This division of the nation made it impossible for Korean independence to be established except on the basis of the United States-Soviet agreement. After her liberation Korea became a battleground for conflicting international interests, the Asiatic frontier of two powers struggling for world supremacy.

An agreement between the two powers concerned in the control of Korea was not reached in almost three years of negotiations at Moscow, Seoul, and New York. It was on the same day in 1948 as the liberation that the independent government of the Republic of Korea, under the U.N. support, was formally established, the actual jurisdiction of which covered only to the southern territory of the division line.

Ancient Struggle

This is only part of the whole story of the events that brought us the opportunity for independence. The history of our fighting for independence actually dates back to the latter part of the nineteenth century, when the nation, widely known as the Hermit Kingdom, faced "the waves of the Western imperialism." The doors of



A huge crowd of Seoul citizens gather at Seoul Railway Station plaza to celebrate liberation from the 36-year Japanese rule August 15, 1945.

the nation, under the rule of the autocratic Yi Dynasty kings, were first opened unwillingly to the Japanese who were already on the road to aggression on the Asian continent.

After the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, Japan became a true world power and a potential aggressor to her.

The history of our fighting for independence actually dates

back to the latter to her neighboring countries. At that time, the Koreans felt that the Japanese would soon demand its vital interests in the territory of the Korean Peninsula and other parts of the Far East. During the war, the Tonghak led by Choi Sihyong and Chun Pongjun, was raised against Japanese intervention in Korean domestic affairs. Then the

Japanese forced the Yi royal family to social reforms.

Independence Society

In the years after the Sino-Japanese War, the Korean progressive leaders launched a nationwide campaign to awake the people. They felt that the independence of the nation could be maintained only when the people could enjoy their own freedom in every field of

social life. They formed a social organization, the Tongnip Hyophol (the Independence Society) in 1896 under the leadership of U.S. educated Suh Jaipil, Yi Sangjae and Syngman Rhee. The society published the Tongnip Shimmun (the Independence News) paper, the first daily published in Korea. Another symbolic accomplishment achieved by the body was the construction of the Independence Gate.

Progressive Society

Another "democratic" movement was launched by the Jonghak followers under the leadership of Son Pyonghi who formed Chinbo Hoe (the Progressive Society) with the platform a change of government by the people.

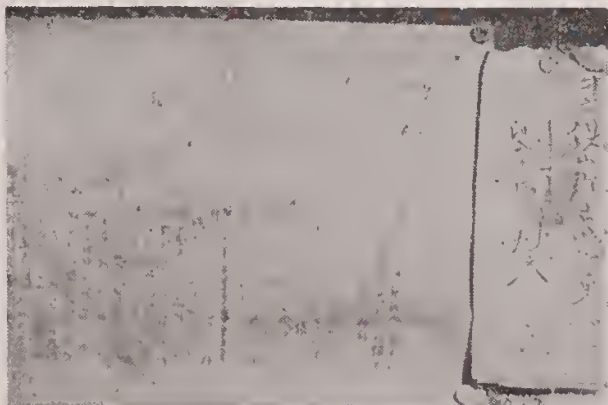
The group sought a social foundation for effective political independence. Son later became one of the 33 independence heroes who led the Independence Movement of 1919.

Japanese Protectorate

Immediately after the Japanese gained victory over the Russians in 1905, they made Korea a Japanese protectorate. Now Korea's sovereignty was forcibly turned over to the Foreign Office in Tokyo. The poor Koreans became helpless. The Treaty of Portsmouth provided for Russian recognition of the preponderant interest, political, military and economic, of Japan in Korea. Neither the United States nor the United Kingdom helped the Koreans to maintain their national independence. They had already agreed to the Japanese rule of the nation in a treaty or a diplomatic bargain.

At the news of signing a Japanese protectorate pact, the people of the whole nation stood against the then pro-Japanese government and the Japanese authorities.

A prominent fighter for independence, Ahn Chang-ho returned home from the United States to form a secret political party, Shinminhoe (the New People). (Continued on Page 11)



Shown above is the original copy of the Declaration of Independence, which was declared in a gathering at Seoul Pagoda Park March 1, 1919, by Han Yongun, one of the 33 independence heroes. The copy has been kept by Bongyoung Yoo, a journalist.



Hundreds of leaders of the independence movement are executed by Japanese oppressors during the Samil (March 1) uprising in 1919.

FAIRLEIGH DICKINSON SEMINAR

REFLECTIONS

CLARENCE NORWOOD WEEMS

REPORT NUMBER 5

KOREA

June 22, 1959

Summary of Activities
(for Reports 5 and 6)

The pressure of time and the fact that more extensive writings on Korea are in press or nearing completion have led to the reluctant decision to write only these two reports on this country, despite the wide range of topics which are particularly inviting to this writer. The present study will be centered on some aspects of physical recovery since 1953. In Number 6 attention will be given to critical cultural change and to certain educational activities.

Gratifying progress is being made on the three special programs outlined in the Summary for Report 1. It may be noted in particular that the microfilming of important historical materials under the auspices of the Committee on Library Resources of the Association for Asian Studies, at the request of prominent Korean scholars and administrators, is now in progress as a result of the cooperation of Seoul National University, Yonsei University and the Korea Society.

SEMINAR meetings have been concentrated so far as practicable in the period beginning on June 19, when Drs. MacKenzie and Chen joined me here. The groups listed below have made especially valuable contributions to our work. They are named in chronological order of the sessions held with them.

Prominent Roman Catholic laymen, including Dean Hong Ryol Ryu of Seoul National University

The Korean Leprosy Association (Mr. Moon Won Chin, Executive Secretary)

The Seoul membership of the Methodist Mission (under arrangements made by Mrs. A. K. Jensen and Rev. M. Olin Burkholder)

The Seoul Rotary Club (at the invitation of Mr. Gregory Henderson, Cultural Attache, American Embassy)

Annual Meeting of the United Presbyterian Mission (Dr. Richard H. Baird, Commission Representative, and Rev. Otto DeCamp, Annual Meeting Chairman)

The Korean Research Center (Dr. L. George Paik, Chairman of the Board and Dr. Chon Dong, Director)

The Acting Director of the Korea office of the International Cooperation Administration (United Nations Command, Office of the Economic Coordinator)

The Asiatic Research Institute of Korea University (Dr. Chin O Yu, President of the University; Professor Sang-eun Lee, Director; Professor Ki-zun Zo, Deputy Director; Professor Byong-ki Min, Secretary; Mr. Yong-kwon Kim, Executive Secretary; Dr. Esson M. Gale, Advisor; and Mr. John H. T. Harvey, Rockefeller Foundation Grantee, Editorial Associate)

Faculty Research Group in History, Seoul National University (Dr. Il Sun Yun, President of the University; Dr. Pyeng Do Yi, Dean of the Graduate School; Professor Hong Ryol Ryu; Professor Woo-Geun Han and some fifteen others)

Choong Hyun Babies' Home (Mrs. Kyung Hi Choi, Director)

The Asia Foundation (Mr. Jack E. James, Korea Representative)

Sung Kyun Kwan University (Dr. Sun Keun Lee, President)
Of all the discussions held in Korea, this all-day session, which occurred today, was the most comprehensive and gave evidence of the most extensive planning. The participants, other than the University President, may be grouped as follows:

Upperclass and graduate students	141
Executives and faculty members (including Dr. Tung Shik Cho, Chairman, Board of Trustees; Professor Hung Jong Lee, Vice President, Dean Woo Sung Son of the College of Liberal Arts and four other Deans)	32
Distinguished administrators and professors from the Committee on the Making of National History and from Chung Ang (Women's), Chung Nam, Korea, Kuk Hak, Seoul National, Soong Sil, Suk Myung (Women's), Tong Kuk and Yonsei Universities	17
<hr/>	
Total of Sung Kyun Kwan group and guests	190

In Korea as in Japan Dr. Thoburn T. Brumbaugh and Dr. Henry Little, Jr. have been of important assistance.

My brother, Professor William R. Weems of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, now serving as the Director of the ICA's Industrial Development Center in Korea, supplied useful comments and published material.

Reference has been made to various materials currently published in Korea, including the following ones:

Development of the Korean Economy, Seoul, Ministry of Reconstruction, Republic of Korea, 1958.

Quarterly Narrative Report on Program Progress - Korea, APO 301, San Francisco, California, Office of Reports, United Nations Command, Office of the Economic Coordinator, December 31, 1958.

NOTES ON THE ECONOMY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

The face of Seoul has been transformed. The improvement since 1951 is so marked that the visitor is immediately disposed to hope that Koreans have somehow reached a new high level of general well-being. Pavements and street-car track-beds first command attention. The man-size craters, the ragged asphalt dips and rises, and the treacherous track crossings are forgotten under a generally even sheet of pavement. The city's streets are as smooth as they were in the Japanese days of the 1930's, and they are being maintained under a punishing load of traffic never known before. Buildings are an equally important factor in Seoul's new look. Most of the large public, commercial and institutional structures standing in 1953 had been built in the Japanese period (1910-1945). Many had been damaged during the communist invasion; almost all of them required long-delayed refurbishment and repair. Not only has this work been accomplished in the intervening years; a number of imposing new buildings and scores of smaller ones have also been erected and others are under construction. One of the more ambitious is the new home of the National Assembly which is being built at the crest of Namsan, the fabled mountain overlooking South Gate and the city as a whole. This new hall will replace in part the main structure on the old capitol compound, which was bombed and burned in the course of the two brief periods of communist control of Seoul and which has not been restored since 1953. Not government buildings alone but new establishments for businesses and for Christian and other religious and social organizations as well have improved the city's beauty and utility and lifted its level of employment and business activity.

The motor traffic which flows through this revitalized metropolitan area, with an interminable din of horns which seems entirely superfluous, is apparently about five times as great as the number of cars in Seoul eight years ago. Equally striking is the fact that, while in 1951 only about one-fifth of all cars and trucks were civilian as opposed to military conveyances, at least four-fifths of the present flood of vehicles are in civilian use. They are composed of an assortment which is distinctly exotic and may be a little crude by Western standards, but one which gives an impressive demonstration - unprecedented in modern times - of the determination of the ordinary Korean to build a better life for himself with the tools at hand. Aside from a few shiny late-model sedans belonging to officials, ambassadors and other foreign representatives and an occasional businessman, there is a sprinkling of less luxurious but equally sturdy station wagons and small European cars used by foundations and missions. Nor can one overlook the surprising number of ancient sedans, some of which are survivors of the Japanese period but most of which have found their way into the open market in the fourteen post-war years during which far more Western foreigners, civilian and military, have lived in South Korea alone than were ever found in the entire peninsula before 1941.

The eye-opening parade of private automobiles and taxicabs consists largely, however, of surplus Willys and Ford jeeps and of a new but closely related species which may be dubbed, with utmost respect, the "Koreep". The general shape of this Korean creation is the same as that of its G.I. prototype. Its body, while possibly not yet produced in the Fleetwood or Fisher tradition, is a genuine triumph for the country's growing metal-working industry. Its four doors and its hard top emancipate the Koreep from two-door discomfort and limited protection from the weather, and greater roominess enables it to carry six or more passengers. The motors under the jeep-like hoods are apparently an irregular collection of original Ford or Willys engines, rebuilt power plants salvaged from a variety of discarded vehicles, and a small number of new ones assembled here from parts built locally and abroad. This austerity-born vehicle obviously provides minimal engineering features and very nearly minimal comfort. Yet it has importance both physically and psychologically. It runs fairly well, and its operational cost per passenger-mile is low. Above all, it enables the general Korean public to take a first step in labor-saving transportation which is far more logical and far more in keeping with outlays for the satisfaction of other wants at this stage of its drive for a comfortable level of life than could be taken through any immediate effort to import or produce cars of European or American quality in large volume. It is worthy of mention that maintenance of Koreeps and of all other vehicles will be placed on a sounder basis by such ICA projects as the recently completed spare parts plant for the Kiksan Auto Company of Inch'on and the tire manufacturing and recapping plant built for the Hanguk Tire Manufacturing Company of Seoul. Still further assurance of inexpensive transportation for people and goods is provided by the new three-wheeled motorcycle plant, built through a combination of ICA and Korean counterpart funds, designed to produce three thousand units a year.

The vast improvement in streets, buildings and passenger cars is paralleled by advances in public transportation, water supply and lighting. Underlying these conspicuous aspects of physical progress is the fact that in 1957 about 1,323 million kilowatt-hours of electricity were consumed, whereas the consumption for 1951 was approximately 337 million kilowatt-hours. With this quadrupling of electric power available for industrial as well as illumination purposes it is not surprising that one finds the street railway system in Seoul better equipped and better operated. There is added reason for noting the progress of Korean body-building establishments in the hundreds of locally made buses which carry much of the load formerly borne - so far as public conveyances were available at all - by the track-bound trolley system. The progress toward greater comfort and time-saving which is brought to city people by the Koreeps, trolleys and buses is, moreover, extended to suburban residents through the interesting device known as the hap-sung or commuting system. Commuters who are willing to pay for relief from the old drudgery of walking for one or two hours from their homes to their places of employment in the city, but live in areas not served by any public conveyance, make a joint contact with the owner of a Koreep or a station wagon to carry them back and forth daily between their homes and a specified hap-sung stand in the city. The fact that these arrangements are less comfortable than those enjoyed by the commuter from Reading to London or from Westchester to New York is not so important as the fact that these people are, for the first time in their history, wheel-borne on a daily basis at a cost which is reasonably within their means.

As another result of the four-fold increase in electric generation in the last eight years - largely through the building of new thermal units, although additions have also been made to hydro-electric capacity - the cities of the Republic of Korea come alive at night. The street-lighting in Seoul lays out the city in a pattern of unexpected brilliance for the observer perched on Namsan or even on a downtown rooftop.

Private houses and business establishments are equally spectacular in their new illumination, and for the first time one finds neon signs advertising sundry goods and services on every main street. But Seoul is not alone in this nocturnal splendor; the Port of Pusan is now outlined by glistening fluorescent lighting which changes the entire aspect of this historic harbor and greatly increases its efficiency. Closely related also to electric power is the added volume of water available to South Korean cities. The average increase in the water consumed in 1957 over the amount used in 1954 was almost 66% and the increase in Seoul, 73%. Even this supply falls considerably short of providing the per capita daily allotment of water required for a desirable standard of living, and plans are under way for increasing both the supply capacity and the actual supply. The increase already attained since the truce in 1953 is impressive to the visitor, however, and contributes measurably to healthiness, cleanliness and capacity for effective work in Seoul and all other cities.

Other aspects of economic growth are equally significant. As a result of a much-needed emphasis on the development of new mechanical capacity, manufacturing industry is gaining on agriculture so far as its annual percentage of the Gross National Product is concerned, but both are receiving increased scientific and financial support and both are reaching new high levels of output. The Government of the Republic and the major assistance organizations are working on these and all other phases of the economic campaign with a constantly increasing degree of understanding and effective articulation of efforts. The sum total contributed by the aid agencies during the years 1945-1957, as itemized in the accompanying table, is well over two billion

TOTAL VALUE OF FOREIGN AID TO THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA
(1945 to the End of 1957)

Distribution by source:

United Nations agencies (26%)	\$ 567,000,000
United States agencies (74%)	1,621,000,000
(Of the U.S. figure, 888 million, or 40% of all aid, was provided by ICA.)	<hr/> \$ 2,188,000,000

Distribution by type of program:

Non-project Assistance	\$ 1,739,000,000
Project Assistance	445,000,000
Technical Cooperation	4,000,000
	<hr/> \$ 2,188,000,000

Source: Development of the Korean Economy, Seoul, Ministry of Reconstruction, Republic of Korea, 1958.

dollars. While all of these goods, services and funds were urgently need at various

stages of Korea's agonizing post-war life, less than one-fourth of the total can be credited to the account of capital investment. Extensive "non-project" funds were expended in the early years after 1945 and again in connection with the Korean War for food, clothing, fertilizer, fuel, medical supplies, raw wool, textiles and other raw materials. Project assistance has, over the whole period considered here, provided more than 200 million dollars for railroads, bridges, highways, harbor facilities and other major construction enterprises; 129 million for industry and mining, including power development; 68.2 million for community development, social welfare and housing; 918 million for health and sanitation; and 9.1 million for various aspects of education. The "Technical Cooperation" program has trained Korean specialists in mining, education, public administration, agriculture, conservation and transportation.

The ICA, which is now virtually the sole foreign aid agency in the Republic, is carrying on all three forms of activity on a substantial scale. Funds programmed in the non-project field for 1959 amounted to almost 142 million dollars. Projects involving Resources Development and Technical Cooperation are, however, more impressive in the total sums involved, in their enormous variety, and in the promise of totally new forms of productive activity for which they are equipping the Korean economy. A random sampling of the 243 current projects listed in the Quarterly Narrative Report produces the following array: "Seoul Central Telephone"; "Masan Telephone Exchange"; "Hydro Exploratory Survey"; "Fertilizer Plant #1 - Ch'ungju"; "Coastal Radio Stations"; "Port and Harbor Rehabilitation"; "Pusan Iron Works"; "Paper Mill - Taegu"; "Farm Soil-testing Services"; "Rolling Stock"; "Waterworks Rehabilitation and Expansion"; "Classroom Construction"; "Industrial Training"; "Test Drilling of Hambaek Coalfield"; "Korean Handicrafts and Industrial Arts - Seoul"; "Spun Rayon Plant - Taegu"; "Atomic Energy Training"; "Industrial Development Center"; "Thermal Electric Generating Plant"; and "Central Industrial Research Center".

Despite the achievements made in developing new productive capacity, the interrelated problems of fast-rising prices, the over-expansion of the money supply (both currency and demand deposits) and the long-continued drop in the value of the Korean hwan have been recognized as serious threats to the whole recovery effort. In April 1957 the Government adopted a comprehensive stabilization program proposed by the Combined Economic Board, which has existed since 1952 and is composed of ranking members of the Korean ministries and representatives of American assistance agencies. This plan called for (1) rigid economy in current expenditures; (2) a downward revision of the budget for the succeeding fiscal year through a 5% reduction in administrative expenses; and (3) a tightening of controls on commercial credit. It even proposed a curtailment of Government investments and loans designed to increase productive capacity, where large sums were involved and where the time-lag between investment and the actual initiation of production by the new plants would cause a one-sided increase in the money supply for a considerable period and thus aggravate the very inflation which the new units were being built to combat.

While the soundness of these measures and similar ones taken in the intervening two years must be recognized, there are conspicuous factors in the situation today which suggest that the economy is still far from a state of maturity. The value of the hwan seems to be at least 25% less than it was two years ago. Quite aside from the unrehabilitated refugees and the battalions of pickpockets, there are thousands of people in Seoul - and apparently in other large cities as well - who are fairly well dressed, completely idle and giving every appearance of having a good time in their little world of spurious prosperity. It may be that many of them would basically like to go to work but have little faith in the economic future and have concluded

such savings as they would make would offer no certainty of providing the minimal purchasing power needed in a still fluctuating money and commodity market. In any event, they find it more intriguing and persuade themselves that it is more profitable to spend their time in a novel array of games of speculation and chance. Many an alley or courtyard just off the main streets is the daily setting for a constantly shifting circle of laughing, jostling gamblers betting on almost any proposition or employing the simpler device of a modified type of dice. Many of the players squatting around the imaginary table on the ground have no doubt obtained their capital from the closely-related guessing game involving the interchange of hwan and dollars. Others are the winners of yesterday's alley session. All of them are in fact unproductive and must be drawn into some creative activity if the economic battle is to be fully won. Yet the prosperous-looking idler with no assured income can hardly be blamed for turning down such jobs as are available. Non-agricultural industry is still unequipped to absorb labor at a rapid rate, and the Korean farm, although highly productive in 1957 and 1958, is already extremely small on a per capita basis. Moreover, both the employer and the employee are sometimes caught in the vicious circle of increased inflation resulting from efforts to reduce inflation. A further and more profound problem lies in the fact that a business community in the modern sense is only beginning to be developed in Korea and there is a serious scarcity of men with what may be called the know-how of business management.

Not one of these unpromising facts is overlooked by the Combined Economic Board or the organizations which it represents. Much can be said for the ICA view that in spite of such difficulties "the year 1958 marked another giant step forward in Korea's determined drive toward eventual self-support". During 1958 prices were generally stable; there was a substantial increase in industrial and agricultural production and an estimated 5.5% real rise in the Gross National Product; and for the first time since 1954 there was a reduction in Korea's deficit in its balance of international payments. Further encouragement can be found in the fact that the 1958 average of wholesale prices in the Republic of Korea as a whole was 6.5% below the 1957 average and that the figure for December 1958 was lower than that for January. With two bumper grain crops in succession, the average price of food in 1958 was more than 14% under the average for 1957.

One is inclined to accept the optimistic rather than the pessimistic view by a consideration of the obstacles which have been overcome. Aside from the recent war and pillage suffered at the hands of the communists, Korea had longer-standing and more basic handicaps. For three and one-half decades under Japanese rule, the country had no integrated economy of its own; it was an adjunct to the economy of Japan and was exploited accordingly. In 1945 such natural balance as was provided by the geographical unity of the "agricultural south" and the "industrial north" was destroyed by the disastrous incorporation of the latter into the communist world. From that unlikely beginning there has at least emerged such a thing as a Korean economy in the southern provinces. Moreover, that economy has improved itself immeasurably since 1953. That improvement is being continued under patient and intelligent direction. Achievements of the recent past seem certain to be eclipsed by those of the future.

FAIRLEIGH DICKINSON SEMINAR

REFLECTIONS

CLARENCE NORWOOD WEEMS

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CULTURAL PROBLEMS AND PROGRESS

The ordinary Korean has lived under peculiarly unfavorable conditions for centuries. His misfortunes can hardly be charged solely to the geographical position of his little peninsula at the historic crossroads of the greatest military movements of Northeast Asia and the destitution and fatalism which unceasing invasions have caused, significant as these facts are. One must take account also of related forces within Korean society. Except for a period of rather remarkable general cultural and political renaissance in the eighteenth century, the common man was subjected to serious corruption and to highly arbitrary and frustrating public administration and social and economic control from about 1550 to the beginning of Japanese hegemony in 1905. While something can be said for the argument that the strict preservation of public order, the predictability of Japanese "justice" and considerable physical development of the peninsula were an advantage to the subject people, it is plain that the mass of Koreans had very limited horizons of opportunity during the Protectorate period (1905-1910) and the three and one-half decades of formal incorporation in the Empire of Japan (1910-1945). The United States Military Government in South Korea (1945-1948) made important efforts to bring stability and hope to the settled population and refugees alike, but we had no special preparation for dealing with any Korean problems, to say nothing of the perplexing and compounded ones of the post-war years. The Republic of Korea since 1948 has weathered the communist storm of 1950-1953, and, with the aid provided by the cooperative programs sketched in Report 5, has emerged from an accumulation of wreckage with considerably improved physical implements for building a better life. Economic uncertainties continue, however, and there are no sure answers to a host of broad cultural questions which has been in the process of unruly assembly for a far longer period than the eleven-year life of the Republic. The whole relationship between Korea's rich moral and intellectual heritage and the course which this society can or must follow in the future is unknown and, indeed, unknowable in any precise terms. It is not surprising that able Korean and Western observers who participated in the SEMINAR find the old foundations of Korean morality and values severely shaken. There are vast numbers who are seeking passionately for effective new social forms and new systems of truth. Others may accept present conditions as being inevitable and unchangeable. In any event the building of a viable culture pattern takes time, and in this lag-period idealists and fatalists alike find themselves in a society which has lost many of its standards.

A moral breakdown is of course a relative development and one which cannot be judged out of the context of the particular society concerned or without reference to changing pressures exerted on that society. If the degree of prevalence of thievery and other petty crimes in Seoul today is to be taken as an index to the general level of morality, for example, one must recall that a sharp change from conditions in the 1920's and 1930's had already occurred in the 1945-1949 period.

Many a G.I. in Korea at that stage - taking little account of the serious economic stagnation gripping the country or of the fact that hungry people suddenly found themselves surrounded by U.S. Army post exchanges, commissaries and quartermaster stores containing food and gadgets of every description and by some 50,000 American soldiers with more money in their pockets than the ordinary Korean would see in a year - was emphatic in his conclusion that Koreans were basically both thieves and liars. In 1945-1947 this writer, while realizing that such a generalization is unsound and meaningless, found that petty crime had in fact grown far beyond anything seen before 1941. The prevalence of "immoral" conduct at that time could be explained by occupation conditions, but it could not be overlooked as an evidence that personal moral values were giving way. Today, after greatly intensified sufferings by virtually all South Koreans, more population pressure and new excesses of inflation, one is struck by what appears to be a far greater deterioration than the already serious one found in 1947 or even in 1950-51. Pickpockets, in particular, are working in large numbers in Seoul and their operations in the crowded streets seem to be highly profitable. The heart-rending feature of this mass thievery is the fact that hundreds of boys, many of them apparently under twelve years of age, make up a large part of the army of pickpockets. A member of the SEMINAR group, riding along one of the main thoroughfares of Seoul, almost in the shadow of the famous Bando Hotel and of the chancellory of the American Embassy, watched in disbelief as a small boy snatched a package from the arms of a gentleman chatting with an acquaintance. By the time the startled conversationalist had turned to look, the little operative had scampered almost out of sight down an alley. The findings of many participants in the SEMINAR make it clear that brazen performances of this kind occur with regularity in Seoul and in other cities and that the cleverness of the petty thieves and their sheer numbers make it impossible for the victims or the police to cope with them. The patient and resourceful researcher who would analyze and classify the backgrounds and motivations of the pickpockets and other thieves - especially the juvenile ones - in Seoul, Pusan, Taegu, Inch'ŏn and other cities at this particular juncture would render a significant service. It would be especially valuable if such research could show, first, the respective percentages of those committing predatory crimes in the Republic today who can be classified as professionals and those who have scruples against stealing but feel that they are driven to it by the fact that the times are out of joint. Secondly, it would be important to learn how many of the children involved are homeless or otherwise lacking in economic or personal security.

Even in the absence of such a study it seems clear that the now commonplace resort to misdemeanor or felony is by no means limited to a normal criminal fringe or even to those who have absolutely no other method of preserving life. It may well seem to many an individual that the art of the pickpocket is in no different moral category from that of the alley dice-thrower or the practiced player of the exchange rate. Such rationalizations are evidently possible only because the society as a whole has in large measure lost its traditional moorings. This cutting-adrift process defies precise analysis, but it seems to be primarily a product of experiences of the past two decades and to have two interrelated aspects. The first is a serious weakening of the social structure. The old organization of Korean society, with some modifications through Christian and other influences, remained generally intact under the moral and economic strains of the period of Japanese control until about the beginning of World War II, but has suffered a progressive deterioration since that time. Decay had clearly set in by 1945. The wholesale transportation of both women and men to Japan as factory workers and of men to Japan's war-torn outposts in Southeast Asia as labor troops had broken up thousands of families and separated more thousands of individuals - often permanently - from home ties and traditional environments. The infiltration of South Korea by communist organizers early in the

three-year Military Government period (1945-1948) may have given Korean young men and women very little understanding of theoretical Marxism, but it gave form and a new air of importance to their already developing tendency to defy parental authority and to claim that they must regulate their lives by the revolutionary standards of an oncoming new order. Even at that time the family and the whole framework of familiar societal obligations and sanctions were losing their meaning for people in their teens and twenties. Today the revolt is still more shocking because it can no longer be dismissed as merely a communist-inspired student fad and because it has crept up the age structure to affect large numbers of those in their thirties and forties. The old social chain of command is broken in many places and is plainly thought by a vast number of young and early-middle-aged people to be beyond repair. The tragedy, from the standpoint of thoughtful Korean leaders, is that no general agreement on a revised social framework is in sight.

The second aspect of the mounting dissatisfaction with the old order seems in part a cause and in part an effect of the crumbling of the social structure. It is a strong tendency to find old beliefs unsatisfying and to grope for new ones. The field of religion is one in which this demand for some new certainty is expressing itself in a spectacular way. New religious groups of a crusading character are gaining thousands of converts. One of the most prominent is the Chondo Kwan ("Evangelistic Mission"), led by Pak Tai Sŏn. This and other messianic splinter groups, growing out of a Christian background, seek to reach tenable theological ground in a time of physical defeat and hardship by denying that the material world has any importance and seeking to focus all attention on spiritual values. Nor are the established Christian churches free of the general uncertainty and demand for change. It is true that the recognized Christian bodies as a whole are approaching the 1,500,000 mark, with Protestant groups in particular enjoying rapid gains in recorded membership. Yet leaders of several key denominations, as well as thousands of Christian parents, feel that younger members are no longer certain in their beliefs and go through the motions of Christian observance while in fact sharing the general sense of spiritual emptiness. Serious differences of opinion on policy plague the Korean National Council of Churches (the general Protestant organization). Roman Catholic membership is increasing, but amounts to less than twenty per cent of the total Christian group and is growing less spectacularly than Protestantism in Korea or Catholicism itself in Japan. While Korean Christians have long exercised a leadership out of all proportion to their numbers, it must be recognized that even today the actual membership of all churches combined amounts to considerably less than one per cent of the population of the southern provinces alone.

It is thus to the adherents of Korea's traditional mosaic of religions that one must look for the main body of those who are seeking new spiritual foundations. The principal ingredients of this mixture have been that religious outgrowth of Confucian ethics which is known as Ancestor Worship; Buddhism; Animism or Shamanism; and the ancient monotheistic belief in Hananim. Many individuals have been primarily and even fervently loyal to some one of these cults, but the great mass of Koreans have been eclectic in their religious ideas. It has long been common for some member of almost any family to pay homage, at a time of crisis or on some recurring ceremonial occasion, to each one of these religious traditions. The husband might be a strong Confucianist and profess to have no religious interest other than the worship of his ancestors and perhaps the Neo-Confucian cosmogony. Nevertheless it is likely that his wife would now and then seek relief from the stern Confucian social pattern and recognition for herself as an individual by visiting a Buddhist temple; that one or more of the family members would occasionally tie a rag on the "devil tree" or otherwise seek to appease the spirits of nature; and that all of them would, if asked, declare that Hananim is after all supreme. It must be added that the

Tonghak-Ch'ondo Kyo of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, while a vigorous social reform movement, has also been a religion. It borrowed from Confucian thought, from Taoism and from Buddhism and was apparently influenced in some degree by the Catholic Christianity against which it fought, but the ensemble was something distinctive and brought a new and crusading form of monotheism into Korean thought. Ch'ondo Kyo, like Protestant Christianity, came to be associated with social and political justice in the minds of many who belonged to neither group. Both of them, together with Buddhist leaders, spearheaded the impressive independence movement of 1919. Yet as a religious organization Ch'ondo Kyo, like Christianity, has been able to draw only a fraction of the population into its membership. It has not changed the fundamental balance of the older factors in the distinctly Korean religious assortment.

It is important to avoid oversimplification in seeking reasons for the inadequacy of that mixture - Ancestor Worship, Buddhism, Animism and faith in Hananim - as the main reservoir of beliefs for the Korean of today. One line of analysis which seems promising would begin with the fact that for several centuries before 1945 the ordinary people found themselves chronically on the defensive in the face of overwhelming social, economic and political power in the hands of their own self-centered aristocracy or, after 1910, in the hands of the exploiting Japanese. So long as the individual tacitly admitted his helpless subordination to the overpowering system into which he was born, the religion he needed was essentially a passive and self-protective one. He demanded only an assurance that he could depend on the approval and support of Heaven as a kind of palliative for the pain suffered in a battle which he was predestined to lose. A false start toward throwing off this basic mentality of defeat came in the 1920's and early 1930's. When Koreans felt the full impact of the American decision not to follow up the courageous Independence Movement of 1919 by raising the question of Korean self-determination at Versailles - vividly described by Stephen Bonsal and others - the door was open for communist agitation. Aside from a few dedicated cell-members, there were not many Koreans of any age-group who became theoretical communists. But schoolboys and schoolgirls thought that they had found in the new philosophy, sponsored by the largest state in Europe, a juggernaut which could flatten the psychological and political barriers which hemmed them in and enable them to gain recognition and security. Paradoxically, the self-assertive conduct of young people in dealing with traditional beliefs in this period was partly traceable to the ideas of justice and the dignity of man drawn from Christian teaching. Certainly it is impossible to distinguish communist-born influences accurately from others in a time in which communist operatives were concentrating on support for the independence movement and riding the band-wagon of a frustrated nationalism. It is clear, however, that the intellectual and emotional revolt of the interwar years struck at old Korean values as well as at the domineering Japanese and the seemingly undependable Western powers. But the old Korean religious and moral mosaic remained generally intact during the 1920's and 1930's because there was not yet any basic weakening of the external forces which held the people as a whole within a narrowly defined range of independent initiative. To defer still further any general revolt against the essentially passive pattern of traditional beliefs, there came in 1937 the beginning of the new Sino-Japanese war and the inauguration of the ingenious "soft-sell" approach. It emphasized the "inevitable" preeminence of the "East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" and the self-interest which Korean and Japanese "kinsmen" had in working together for the glorious future. This ingratiating appeal was harder to fight than the raw oppression of earlier decades.

Then came 1945 and "Liberation". In the fourteen years which have followed, the ferment of freedom and the realization that old barriers are gone have been at work,

despite constant suffering and the constant threat to independence, or perhaps because of that threat. There is no longer any basic satisfaction in an ideology which accepts and seeks only to soften a perpetual state of subjection and denial of equality. Although few could articulate it clearly, Koreans are being moved by a demand for a new set of beliefs which will enable them to live with assurance in a time of explosive uncertainty and give spiritual support to their society in its new role as an active free agent in a rough-and-tumble world. It is not surprising that the Pak Tae S^ons are winning their thousands of converts and that the culturally uprooted people are groping for new absolute values to replace those now proven to be only relative. This entire interpretation can of course be attacked on the ground that several of the components of Korea's traditional religious array, including certain militant Buddhist elements, have been aggressive and far from merely palliative in their message and methods. Yet there seems to be general agreement that revolts inspired by such religious forces have been directed toward protecting the country from invasion or toward forcing a government to abandon unconscionable excesses and return to the traditional moral and political framework, which itself kept the people in perpetual subjection.

The old social structure and value system which are now subjected to intense strain have historically been accompanied by a strong sense of ethnic purity and distinctiveness. Regardless of modern anthropological evidence that fusion rather than segregation is the universal rule for the growth of societies, Koreans have insisted that their race is separate and unmixed. As a matter of fact their case is an impressive one unless the analyst projects his study over a span of centuries. Even the Mongol envelopment seems to have brought limited intermixture. Since it came to an end in the mid-fourteenth century there has been no mingling worthy of mention unless account be taken of the comparatively few Japanese soldiers who were left over from Hideyoshi's invasion (1592-1598) and found Korean mates. Throughout the period of Korean-Japanese contact in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries it appears that an extremely small number of Korean-Japanese unions, either in or out of wedlock, occurred in Korea. In most areas the Korean member and the children lived under distinct handicaps so far as Korean society was concerned. Korean-Chinese matings have carried little or no stigma but have been rare in modern times. In the occasional Korean-Western matches before 1945 and numerous marriages occurring since that time, the male member has most often been the Occidental one, and the children have generally been assimilated to his society rather than to that of the mother. In the hundreds of cases of liaison between American and other UN service men and Korean women since 1945 which have resulted in the birth of illegitimate children, on the other hand, the situation has been far different. The mother is under no greater economic pressure than if both parents were Korean, but she has a serious additional handicap in the ostracism which is almost certain to face her half-foreign child and even herself. Of the hundreds of such children, a number are being regularly included among those taken from Korea for adoption by American and other Western families. The greater portion remain in Korea, however, and present a new cultural problem. The Choong Hyun Babies' Home, which was visited by Drs. MacKenzie and Chen, is one of a number of Korean orphanages which are making a sincere and intelligent effort to give these unwanted infants both physical and emotional security. The Korean social sanction against persons of mixed blood can hardly be criticized harshly by Americans who are aware of our own slow approach to the solution of racial problems. It seems reasonable to expect, however, along with thoughtful Korean social leaders, that the distinction between "pure" and mixed orphans will become less distinct and the individual will come to be accepted more fully on his own merits as economic and general cultural adjustments are made and Koreans find themselves competing on more even terms with the leading societies of the world.

The intellectual preparation of those who will take the lead in assuring that those adjustments are salutary and intelligent is being given on a constantly broadening basis by Korean universities and research organizations. There were one university and a handful of colleges at the end of the Japanese period in 1945 in the country as a whole. Today in the southern provinces alone there are more than thirty-five institutions of higher learning. Eight national universities, at least one municipal college, a number of private institutions, and universities with Christian, Buddhist and Confucian affiliations are included. An examination of the divisions, faculty and student rolls and sample curricula of these diversified places of learning reveals that a surprisingly wide range of modern scholarship is being brought to more than ten times as many college men and women as were enrolled at any time under Japanese rule. In many cases substantial numbers of American specialists have taught and served in advisory capacities; many are still doing so and there is a substantial demand for further such exchange personnel, especially in the newer universities and colleges. Both ICA and foundation assistance have been important in giving effect to these programs. Research institutes, especially in history, government, international relations, and various technological fields, are being developed on a scale that would have been considered fantastic in 1945. Several such establishments in Seoul have received important aid from American foundations. Those in the social science areas already have some books and documents - primarily in microfilmed form - which enable them to do advanced original work while they are training research specialists. The demand for more source material and microfilm-reading equipment is strong. Institutions of higher learning in the Republic of Korea are working intelligently and with tremendous earnestness to make available to its future leaders the fullest knowledge and the best techniques available anywhere in the modern world.

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The Kanghwa Treaty of 1876

by Mr James Palais

The Kanghwa Treaty of 1876 owes its significance in Korean history to the fact that it marked the formal opening of Korea to trade and the end of a seclusion that had lasted for centuries. Viewed on a larger scale, it was part of the whole historical process of the Western impact upon the Eastern world - - an impact which in the 19th century had brought several disastrous wars between China and the countries of the West, resulting in the imposition of a series of unequal treaties upon China. These treaties not only opened China to trade, but to the influx of the whole fabric of Western civilization, an insidious force, from the Chinese point of view, which was soon to wreak horrendous changes upon the whole structure, the very foundation of traditional Chinese society. In the case of Japan, the impact of the West provided the stimulus for a phenomenally fast moving and sweeping economic, social and political reform, a wholesale importation of a foreign culture, designed to put Japan upon an equal footing with the West in as short a period of time as possible.

In Korea, the impact served to intensify internal political strife, and to involve Korea in power struggles among foreign states leading to a period of calamity that was accompanied by a gradual reformation, as in China, of institutions and values.

I am currently studying the period in Korean history surrounding the opening of Korea, and my research is far from completed, yet I would like to take this opportunity to attempt some generalizations on the problem, which at this early stage might be still somewhat premature. In other words, I will be more concerned here with how the opening of Korea may be viewed in the context of the internal politics of the time as well as the significance it had for Korea's traditional methods of dealing with the outside world.

The Kanghwa Treaty, viewed from the vantage point of internal politics was an issue that was intimately connected with a political power struggle raging at that time, which was of such comprehensive nature, that to understand it we must also understand the powerful influences and factors then at work in Korean society.

Korea in mid-nineteenth century was in a state of grievous decline. Her administration was ridden with corruption, her treasuries were depleted, her people survived at a bare subsistence level, and sometimes not even at that, and rebellions and demonstrations broke out with frequency. Viewed from any angle, the country was in a state of near collapse.

Part of this decline may have been due to a phenomenon or a view of history known to China, as the dynastic cycle. To generalize from the Chinese case, a typical dynasty might go through a cycle of 300 years or so. The beginning would be marked by the rule of vigorous Emperors who having subdued the empire by military might would then proceed to expand Chinese frontiers through force of arms. Administration would be run efficiently, land redistribution would be carried out, tax revenues would be plentiful, and achievements would be made in art and culture. A golden age in each dynasty would mark the peak of such achievement. Thereafter, the dynasty would begin its decline. The redistributed land system would soon be undermined by the concentration of land into the hands of the few and privileged. More and more land would be removed from the tax roll and the tax burden on the common peasants increased to keep up the size of government revenue. Famines, natural disasters, wars or public works would serve to increase the burdens still further. Peasants would flee from their lands to escape the tax collector, and those left would have to make up the deficiency by an even heavier burden. Administrative corruption, bribery and extortion would evolve apace until mass flight from the land would result and government revenues would sharply decrease. Impoverished peasants and floating population would form the material for new revolutionary movements, having now nothing to lose by such action. The call would go out that the old dynasty had lost the mandate of heaven, and a successful revolt would result in the establishment of a new dynasty.

This concept of history has been criticized chiefly because it fails to provide an explanation for dynamic change--the evolution of a society and culture over long periods of time and through several dynasties. In the Yi dynasty, for example, it would fail to take account of such a new and unique factor as the impact of the West upon Korea -- a phenomenon, naturally, unknown in former periods. Yet the model can provide one useful way of looking at things. Even by the standards of the dynastic cycle, the Yi dynasty was exceptionally long-lived. It persisted despite the existence of numerous factors which predicated its downfall. Rampant corruption increased terribly the burdens on the impoverished peasantry, leading to uprising and rebellion. Some of this corruption was endemic--it was built into the Korean administrative system itself, which was patterned largely after that in China, where the same evils existed. The biggest trouble was that the local magistrates were officials recruited by the examination system and then despatched from the central government to areas other than their own native domiciles. They were transferred frequently to prevent any of them from building up a base of local power in opposition to the central government, and as a result of this the only persons who provided continuity in local government were the clerks and runners, recruited from the local populace. These men were not provided with any salaries--a statutory restriction which some tried to alter but without success. Because of this they were forced to earn their living by squeeze and corruption.

Thus corruption, to a certain extent was practiced at all times during the dynasty. It was only at times of stress, such as in a period of decline, when corruption would increase in degree, and the

effects of such a corruption would become not a tolerable, not an acceptable and natural part of the system, but an intolerable and oppressive burden.

Another of the factors of dynastic decline was prevalent in Korea and this was the breakdown in landholding patterns. Land had been redistributed at the time of the founding of the Yi dynasty, but the first century of the dynasty witnessed the granting of land to people enrolled on merit lists for their aid either in supporting the founder of the dynasty or later usurpers of the throne. These lands were tax-exempt and gradually became the hereditary holdings of an increased number of merit-subjects, resulting in a reduction in the land available for taxation and a decline in government revenue. In addition, the gentry or aristocratic yangban class was exempted from taxation and labor service, so the state lost all revenue that they might have obtained from these lands.

Burdens on the peasantry were increased in the traditional manner by the imposition of various illegal surcharges, false assessment either through the corruption of clerks or collusion among local magistrates, clerks and local gentry. A most oppressive burden was the corrupt administration of relief loans to peasants. It was the breakdown of this institution more than any other which led to the series of peasant uprisings in 1862.

It was thus that mid-century Korea was possessed of a groundswell of discontent and tension on the lowest rungs of society--the mass of peasantry. But, tension was not limited alone to the masses. The very nature of Korean society was productive of strains that were to have more serious consequences for the stability of the nation and were to lead to a period of political contest and strife.

To begin with, the civil service examinations leading to degrees and eligibility for office in the bureaucracy were restricted to sons of the aristocratic yangban class. In China, it had always been theoretically possible that commoners could attain official rank via the examination route, but such opportunities were limited only to those peasants who were wealthy enough to be able to afford an idle son committed to study of the classics. In Korea, this theoretical universality of opportunity was limited by statute to conform more with the aristocratic nature of Korean society. In Korea, not only was membership in the Yangban class inherited but other classes were also forced to live out their lives within the confines of the status bequeathed to them by their fathers.

Thus we can see that special and inherited privilege and social immobility were the characteristics of Yi dynasty society. However, even within the privileged yangban class, there were other factors limiting political opportunities to such a small number that the politically disenfranchised, the discontented were so numerous that they provided a continuous supply of frustrated men.

For one thing, there existed in Korea a type of factional cleavage that may have been peculiar to Korea alone. Factional ties were handed down from father to son, and from teacher to disciple.

These factional ties had persisted for more than two hundred years and had become institutionalized into a permanent feature of Yi dynasty upper-class society. This type of factionalism had its inception at the end of the 16th century over a minor family dispute. Further fragmentation took place and by 1800 there were four main factions two of which held sway over the other. The major factions were then able to monopolize the best posts in the bureaucracy, and the minority factions were relegated to lower positions, and lives of discontent and unfulfillment. It was not surprising, then, that new ideological and political movements found support at times from this segment of discontented aristocracy. Catholicism for example found many of its upper-class adherents among the Noron or Southerners, one of the minority factions, and we may assume that its suppression was partly due to government fears of a political threat to its position. In addition to factional discrimination, there was territorial discrimination. Men from the northern provinces were so highly restricted in their opportunities for advancement via the examination and bureaucratic route, that a rebellion broke out in 1811 over this very issue.

Another group of yangban were able to accrue much power to themselves. These were the local gentry, who were particularly strong in the southern three provinces. Their power and prestige was based on their yangban status, which they used to maintain their influence in the face of the local magistrates. Some maintained their position through intermarriage with other powerful yangban families with connections at the capital. Others owed their strength to their role as scholars and protectors of Confucian orthodoxy in morals. One of their bases of power was the institution known as the Sŏwŏn. These were local schools for the instruction of the young which were also used as shrines for famous scholars and Confucian worthies. The Sŏwŏn became powerful institutions endowed with royal charters and land holding privileges, and they became the centers of conservative sentiment. Furthermore, local gentry were able to maintain their position of strength because they were usually large landholders with exemption from taxation because of their aristocratic status.

Nineteenth-century political life in Korea was also subject to another factor not prevalent in earlier periods, and this was the dominance of court affairs and administration by members of the consort families. A succession of weak or young monarchs led to powerful and aggressive consort families who used their position as relatives of the Queen both to have members of their clan appointed to office and to perpetuate their power by controlling the designation of the Queen of the Heir Apparent. In Taejong's reign at the beginning of the 15th century, members of the Queen's family were prohibited by law from holding office. The application of this law became lax from the middle of the 18th century. However, the institution of consort family control did not come into its own until the first quarter of the 19th century. The Andong Kim family, in league with the Noron faction gained power and held it. They were challenged briefly by the Cho clan from P'ungyang, but the Cho fell from power in the early 1840's. Then the Andong Kim put King Chŏljong on the throne in 1850 and he took a Kim as a Queen in 1851.

These then were the elements of Korean political life as they existed on the eve of the ascension of Kojong to the throne in 1863. The royal family was weakened and dominated by the Andong Kim in league with officials from the dominant factions. The yangban dominated society as landowners, as the recipients of special privileges, as members of powerful factions, as men of influence, as gentry in the villages, and as the guardians of the heritage of orthodox Confucian teaching. These were the vested interests of Korean society. Beneath them were the others--those who at best were shut off from political power and at worst repressed, confined, squeezed to the barest minimal level of economic subsistence. It is possible that this pattern would have continued indefinitely--that the Yi dynasty might have continued in a state of semi-collapse, with nothing worse than occasional peasant rebellion at times of natural disaster or famine. This might have been the case, had it not been for the emergence of a new force, a charismatic personality, if you will, resolved to bring about changes in society as he found it from his newly found vantage of power. This man was the Taewongun, the father of King Kojong.

The Taewongun became regent when his son was designated King by the Empress Dowager, Cho, in lieu of a line of direct descent from the previous King, Ch'öljong. In effect, the Taewongun was vaulted from the position of an obscure and neglected line of the Royal house into the seat of power. During the 10 years of his regency, his efforts were directed to the task of reviving and strengthening the position of the royal house and the dynasty. He took measures to attack official venality, relieve the excessive burdens that had been levied on the people, and build up the national treasury. These were measures that benefited the country and the people, but they were also designed to make the royal house supreme over the other elements and interest groups that existed in Korean political life.

In 1869, a decree permitted all direct descendants of the King except sons and grandsons to take the long-forbidden government exams and serve in the official hierarchy. Large sums were expended on the construction of the Kyongbok palace to increase the royal prestige. He launched an all-out attack on the aforementioned Söwön, which formed the core of the traditionalist Confucian movement. In his attempts to build up a treasury surplus he established new taxes which were levied on the yangban aristocracy previously exempt from all taxation. He made some attempt to allow northerners and members of minority factions previously discriminated against to enter the bureaucracy, and even promoted clerks to positions in the officialdom on the basis of ability.

Thus, reforms were carried out at the expense of the vested interests--the Andong Kim, the southern yangban, the dominant factions and die-hard traditionalists and certain elements of the bureaucracy. The Taewongun had attempted to create a new political edifice in the teeth of the most powerful interests in the country, so it is not surprising that his overthrow was engineered more or less through a coalition of his opponents. What was needed was an organizing force, some agent to bring these elements together. This appeared in the form of the Queen and her relatives.

Queen Min had been chosen by the Taewongun himself at the recommendation of his wife, a member of the Min clan, and aunt of the new queen. The Taewongun hoped to prevent a repetition of what had happened under the Indong Kim, but events were to frustrate his plan. The new queen soon developed a grudge against her father-in-law, when a son was born not to her but to one of the King's favorite concubines. The possibility now arose that this son would be made crown prince and the Min family shut off from access to the throne. Some of the relatives of the Queen had already been appointed to posts in the bureaucracy and they had already begun their political intrigues. By 1873 they had built up a coalition of forces opposed to the Taewongun, and including the following discontented elements: relatives of the Dowager Empress of the Cho clan dissatisfied with their share of power, members of the Indong Kim, even some discontented members of the royal clan itself, the most significant of which was the Taewongun's elder brother, and finally the conservative scholar and yangban, antagonized over the abolition of the Sŏwŏn and the imposition of taxes on them. The whole movement was capped off by a memorial from the arch-conservative anti-foreign official Ch'oe Ik-hyŏn, in 1873, attacking the Taewongun for misgovernment.

Ch'oe was the disciple of Yi Hwang-nŏ, a conservative Confucian scholar who was brought into the government during the regency of the Taewongun, to lend the regime respectability, and also to buy off the opposition of the conservatives to the Taewongun's policies. But this tactic had not worked. Yi immediately submitted a spate of memorials calling for a stop to excessive taxation and useless construction projects. He advocated a return to the essentials of good government--that is to say, frugality, the prohibition of all frivolity, freeing the pathways for remonstrance and choosing men of talent and virtue. He urged the King to set himself up as a model of virtue, thereby to regulate men's minds, and this would be the way to strengthen the country and drive off the barbarians. In other words, a moral regeneration in the Confucian, and more accurately the neo-confucian mold, through introspection and inner self-cultivation.

Yi died in 1868, and Ch'oe Ik-hyŏn was appointed to office soon thereafter. He began a series of attacks on the Taewongun's administration, and much to the consternation of the Taewongun received repeated promotion from the King. The King had now attained majority, and was chafing under his father's regency. Backed by the Min and their coalition of opposition forces, the Taewongun found his position untenable. Those of his supporters in the government, particularly in the organs of the censorate who memorialized against Ch'oe and demanded his impeachment were dismissed wholesale from office.

The Taewongun retired from public life in 1874, overwhelmed by the forces against him. The Min faction, now in power proceeded to carry out an extensive purge of pro-Taewongun officials. Investigations were instituted against many of them, resulting in some executions. The supporters of the Min were appointed to the highest posts in the bureaucracy. Reprisals were carried out, too. The brother of the Queen, and chief intriguer, Min Sung-ho, was killed by a bomb, and fires were started in the palace near the Queen's quarters and in the homes of some of the government

ministers.

The political change was also not without implications for foreign policy. In foreign policy, the Taewŏngun had been pledged to an adamant and unyielding policy of anti-foreignism abroad and Catholic suppression at home. Catholicism in Korea had been compromised by its connection with foreign gunboats and the threat of foreign invasion. It had long been under attack from Confucian purists who saw it as a threat naturally, to orthodox beliefs, but when the government came to feel that Catholicism posed a political threat --- that native Christians would try to get foreign warships to come to Korea and guarantee their protection by force, the repressions and persecutions took on a more serious nature. The Taewŏngun was at first not committed to a policy of persecution, but a series of events, involving native Catholics in certain diplomatic questions led the Taewŏngun to decide on a severe persecution, in which, among many native martyrs 9 French priests were also executed. This led to an expedition of reprisal by the French Asiatic Squadron which failed because of inadequate forces, and this was followed by a series of raids upon the Korean coast by foreign ships. Another attack was launched in 1871 by an American gunboat in retaliation for the burning of an American merchant ship in 1866. This marked the culmination of the anti-foreign reaction within Korea and the Taewŏngun had monuments erected around the country with the following inscription:

The foreign barbarians have invaded us. If we do not fight, then there must be peace. Those who advocate peace are traitors. Let this be a warning to our posterity for 10,000 years.

Naturally enough, these policies of anti-foreignism and Catholic persecution were supported ardently by the conservative, rural scholars. They viewed Western influences and Catholicism as the scourge of orthodox morality. However, although supporters of this policy, they turned against the Taewŏngun, as we have seen, for other reasons, and some of them participated in the Min attack upon him.

With the Taewŏngun firmly committed to a policy of seclusion and anti-foreignism it is no wonder there was trouble, when after 1868, Japan tried to establish relations with Korea on a new basis. In 1868, Japan's feudal government was overthrown in what is known as the Meiji Restoration. The Emperor was restored to his position as head of state and new governmental institutions were established among which was a ministry of foreign affairs. The Japanese then wanted to shift the handling of Korean relations from the Sō clan of Tsushima, which had taken charge of those matters under the feudal Shogunate, to the new central government and new foreign office in Tokyo. Japan sent several notes to this effect to Korea. The policy of the Taewŏngun was to reject all these notes on the grounds that the word "Emperor" designating the Japanese Emperor, was used in the documents, and also that Korea could not countenance any change in time-honored precedents and etiquette governing Korean-Japanese relations.

Prior to this, in 1867, another event had taken place which served to exacerbate Korean Japanese relations. China reported to Korea the contents of an article published in a Chinese newspaper. The article was a letter from a Japanese to the paper in which he said that Korea had been in the habit of sending tributary missions to Japan every 5 years and because Korea had discontinued this practise there were plans in Japan for an expedition of a fleet of 80 ships to go to Korea and administer chastisement. The story was unfounded, but it added to the rift in relations, and was referred to several times by the Koreans during the Kanghwa negotiations of 1876. At any rate, by 1873 a crisis was reached in the Japanese government over the Korea question. There was a split between those who wanted to attack Korea because of the repeated rejections of Japanese communications and Japanese envoys, and those who felt that the most pressing task for Japan was her self-strengthening -- building up the country so she would be able to cast off the burden of the unequal treaties with foreign nations, and that to launch a war with Korea at this time, when Japan was still weak would be harmful. The latter group won out, and the anti-Korean faction withdrew from participation in the new government, eventually to lead a revolt against it. Thus the new government in Japan, after 1873, was committed to a policy of self-strengthening. Despite this, there was much restless energy and discontent in Japan that had to be siphoned off. This discontent resulted directly from the attempts of the new government to outlaw and sweep away the old feudal social and economic restrictions by decree. Samurai, or feudal retainers, were deprived of their special privileges and also of their stipends as retainers of feudal lords. As compensation they were provided with government bonds, which, however, rapidly dropped in value with runaway inflation. Brought up in a tradition of arms and now forced into economic impoverishment, there were many who could not tolerate what they imagined to be the Korean contempt for Japan and itched for a chance to do battle. Thus, despite the decision of the government in Japan to put off any foreign ventures, an expedition was launched against Taiwanese aborigines for killing some shipwrecked Japanese. This Taiwan expedition was not without fateful implications for Korea, for it involved a fundamental theoretical dispute between Japan and China that would later be applied to Korea. Taiwan was a Chinese tributary but China disclaimed control over its internal administration and would not take responsibility for the attack of the aborigines. Japan claimed that this meant that China had no suzerainty at all over Taiwan and took it upon herself to chastise the natives. This expedition, in other words, called the whole Chinese system of tributary relations -- the method by which China conducted her foreign relations with the outside world into question.

It was within the context of the tributary system that Korea conducted her relations with China. By the terms of this system, Korea was obliged to send a yearly tribute mission to Peking in the winter and supplementary missions on such felicitous occasions as the accession of a new Emperor or designation of Crown Prince. Missions were sent to report deaths in the Korean royal family, and missions were sent from China to Korea to perform investiture rites for the Korean King or Crown Prince.

Korea also was obliged to use the Chinese calendar. The purpose of this system was more symbolic than profitable for China. It was to demonstrate through the performance of such ritual as the nine-fold kowtow--knocking of the head on the ground--before the Emperor, of the supreme position of China as center of the World, as center of culture, and of the Emperor as the model of supreme virtue for others to emulate. The value of the tribute received by China was often outweighed by her largess in granting gifts and entertainment to the tributary envoys--so to impress them with China's overriding prestige. Not only in the kowtow, but in the wording of documents, care had to be taken lest there be any infringement of the highest respect language for China and the Emperor. The tributary mission was not only conducted with great ceremony, but was part of the Chinese system of Confucian morality and ritual. For this reason, the receipt of envoys, that is, the handling of relations with tributary states was handled by the Board of Rites in China, and conversely by the Ministry of Rites in Korea.

In return for these obligations, China was obliged to come to Korea's aid to defend against foreign aggression or to help suppress internal rebellion. Furthermore, it was left to Korea, to govern herself. Not only that, but Korean borders were effectively sealed against any Chinese immigration. Even Chinese envoys to Korea stayed no more than a few days in Seoul before returning to China.

It was in the middle of the 19th century when pressure first was put on the tributary system with regard to Korea. As a matter of fact, the system itself had been challenged long before that. The English envoy to the court at Peking, Macartney, in 1793, had refused to perform the kowtow, and a long struggle took place between China and the western powers over the issue of conducting relations between them on a basis of equality--as relations were conducted between nations in the West. In the middle of the 19th century, attention was turned to Korea, and some of the Western countries decided they wanted to open Korea to commerce. France, in particular, wanted to obtain redress for the murders of French priests. China was approached by the Foreign ministers, but Chinese policy consisted of declaring that although Korea was a tributary of China's China had no control over either her internal government or her relations with other countries. Especially after suffering defeat in the Opium wars of 1842 and the attack on Peking in 1860 China was wary of assuming responsibility for Korean misbehavior lest she be forced into granting new concessions to the Westerners because of it. This of course was the basis of Chinese policy in 1874, when Japan sent an expedition to Taiwan, but the shock of this event acted as a stimulus for a gradual shift to a new approach. The famous statesman, Li Hung-chang, had been appointed Governor-General of Chihli province and Commissioner for the Northern Ports in 1871 and as such, came to control the handling of China's foreign policy for 25 years. The Japanese expedition to Taiwan increased his fears about Japanese designs on China's tributaries. This attack had taken place despite a clause in the Sino-Japanese treaty of 1871 that no aggression would be committed against territory belonging to either state. However, the Japanese rationale for the Formosan episode was in effect that tributary status did not mean Chinese suzerainty, for such suzerainty would only be evidenced by direct control over internal administration to be displayed by such an obvious indication as tax collection and also by responsibility for the conduct of foreign affairs. Li Hung-chang had wanted to attack the Japanese with troops in 1874, but China was not ready for action at the time. However, he was alarmed and concerned over the possible Japanese threat to Korea.

Li did not have long to wait, for in September of 1875, three Japanese gunboats were fired on by Korean batteries off the coast of Kanghwa island. The local Korean commander fired on the ships with out making inquiries, and the Japanese retaliated by landing a party, destroying the artillery battery and attacking a nearby town. The ship returned to Japan a few days later. This incident became the pretext for the despatch of a negotiator to Korea to conclude what eventually became known as the Kanghwa treaty.

The despatch of the Japanese ships had actually been brought about by the change in political conditions in Korea. Japanese envoys in Pusan had learned that the Governor of Kyongsangdo and the officials in Pusan who had rejected prior Japanese communications under orders from the Taewongun had recently been investigated, and one of them executed. The Japanese envoy then reported back to their governments, that with the removal of the Taewongun and his faction, the time was ripe for a demonstration to back up Japanese demands on Korea, and advocated sending ships to the Korean coast to cause an incident that would serve as the pretext for this move. They also pointed out that Korea could not expect help from China, since China had already stated that she could not interfere in internal Korean affairs.

Despite the opposition of those who advocated that the policy decision to concentrate on Japan's internal development be adhered to, the government decided to despatch the gunboats on the pretext of surveying the Korean coast.

The decision was then made in Japan that rather than charge China with responsibility, a mission would be sent to Korea to lay responsibility on Korea and conduct negotiation with her, and at the same time, an envoy would be sent to China to inform the Chinese government of the action. In other words, it would be assumed that China had no control over Korean affairs and that she would not be asked to mediate.

Of course, the Japanese had well assessed the change that had come about with the retirement of the Taewongun. In 1874, after the retirement of the Taewongun two high ministers had memorialized on relations with Japan. The gist of their remarks was that 300 years of friendship with Japan had been ruined in the past few years because of stubbornness over the issue of the wording of documents, and that the use of the word, "Emperor", in these documents was no more than respect language used by the Japanese for their own Emperor, and in no way implied a slight to Korea.

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●● account has it that the Min clique had tried to persuade the King that a continuation of the Taewongun's policy would bring on another disaster equal to that of Hidyoshi's invasions. At any rate, things looked in 1875, as if the Korean side would yield on the question of the reception of both communications and envoys from Japan.

However, Japan had now bid up its price, on the basis of new information on Korean conditions, and had decided to use the threat of force to guarantee Korean acquiescence. The Japanese negotiators arrived in 3 warships off Kanghwa island; they exaggerated the figures of the number of men on board to the Korean negotiators,

and demanded that 400 of them be landed as protection. Small bands of troops made daily landings reconnoitering the area, asking directions to the capital. All of these were activities designed to frighten the Koreans, possibly in the manner of Perry's opening of Japan. Finally, it was even intimated that any aggressive action on the part of the Koreans would lead to the landing of the whole contingent and forceful reprisals.

High officials in the Korean government who had felt that Korea should make concessions to Japan on the matter of documents, now found themselves confronted with a military threat and a demand for a treaty. The Japanese were also demanding that the negotiator on the spot be given plenipotentiary powers to conclude the treaty or else they would be forced to go to the capital themselves to negotiate directly with the government. Government leaders were confused by these new developments. They distrusted the Japanese, but for the most part found it difficult to recommend a course of action. Some declaimed about the inadequacies and deficiencies within Korea that had brought on this calamity from outside her borders, and called for a strict application of laws to the wild and unrestrained populace--that rewards and punishments be applied strictly to thereby calm the people. Others pointed out that the whole basis of national defense--finances and treasury reserves were exhausted, and that Korea was in a difficult situation.

In addition to this a communication had been received from China telling of the Japanese Minister to China's report of the despatch of a minister from Japan to Korea to negotiate a treaty with her. The communication also recorded conversations held between the Japanese Minister and Li Hung-chang, in which Li reiterated that although Korea was a tributary of China's, she was allowed to exercise exclusive and independent control over her own affairs, and for that reason China could not force her to do anything, and could not send any Chinese to go and conduct negotiations. He urged that Japan handle matters in accordance with the article of the Sino-Japanese Treaty of 1871 providing that neither country would commit aggression against the territory of the other. Thus, Li had not departed from his previous policy of disclaiming responsibility, and the Koreans must have felt that no support would be forthcoming from China. On the other hand, there were no proposals to seek such support.

Despite, then, the lack of a concrete policy, the order was handed down within a few days to the Korean negotiator that friendship had to be maintained with Japan, and that the articles of trade put forward by Japan did not have to be repudiated. He was instructed to agree to whatever was beneficial, and was given plenipotentiary powers to do so. This decision appears to have been taken at the initiative of the King, whether on his own, or at the behest of the Min faction, is not verifiable by any records.

However, despite the fact that the throne had decided to agree to almost all of the Japanese terms, with only a few objections this does not mean that there was not opposition to the whole project from certain elements on the political scene. On the contrary, a raft of memorials were submitted calling for strong and decisive

action against the Japanese. Local officials from Kanghwa, ex-censors, the chief negotiator for the Koreans himself, and finally, Ch'oe Ik-hyŏn, the very man whose memorial led to the downfall of the Tae-wŏngun, came out in sharp and outspoken attack upon the court and even the King himself for his appeasement of the Japanese. Some of these men were summarily exiled.

As before, the conservative anti-foreign appeal was based on the fear of the influx of Western religion and values which would corrupt the morality of the people. That the Japanese were no different from the Westerners could be seen just by looking at them. They were now wearing Western clothes and their ships were of western design. They had departed from the true way. If Korea were to open the country to trade with them, then it would be the same as opening it to the West. Merchants would come and people would then spend their time chasing after idle profits-- rather we might say than reposing in that virtuous and sublime poverty which had been their lot up to that time.

There was, in other words, a violent reaction, from those conservative forces in society, which had two years before, joined with the Min in the attacks on the Tae-wŏngun. It is my view therefore, that the signing of the Kanghwa treaty marked a new development in internal politics, the alienation of the rural scholars and conservative, and anti-foreign officials away from the government. This opposition was to grow larger and even more vocal in ensuing years. The articles of the treaty as agreed upon called for the opening of two ports in addition to Pusan, in which ports Japanese would be allowed to purchase land and rent houses and conduct trade freely. The restrictive rules governing the enclosed Japanese compound at Pusan would be liberalized. Korean officials were not to obstruct anyone in the free conduct of trade. Furthermore, envoys would be exchanged between the two countries, each to go to the capital of the other and there hold discussions with the respective foreign ministers--in the Korean case the Chief of the Ministry of Rites.

Those articles dealing with the opening of three ports in all for trade, were attacked, as explained previously, by the anti-foreign wing. They were agreed to by the King and those who supported his policy on the rationale that the Japanese were not the same as Westerners and that expanding trade with them would not lead to the introduction of the heresy of Catholicism. Japan was a country with which Korea had had peaceful relations, it was said, for 300 years that is since Hideyoshi's invasions, and that trade had been conducted with Japan through the Japanese residence in Pusan. Even if new ports were to be opened, they could be run in accordance with regulations that had been used in Pusan, and by no means was it necessary to allow them access to the interior. They were to be quarantined, as had been the custom, in their compounds at the treaty ports.

The terms of the treaty also included provisions for extra-territorial jurisdiction in the treaty ports; that is, Japanese criminals were to be turned over to Japanese consuls in the ports for adjudication. This of course was one of the main features of the unequal treaties that had been imposed on China and Japan herself. To the Korean mind however, this was not a drawback. The main concern was to keep the Japanese in their restricted residences away from the populace.

Article 1 of the treaty stated that Korea was an independent, or self-ruling state and that henceforth all communications and protocol between the two countries would be conducted on the basis of equality. But of course, the Japanese were not interested in equal treatment at all. The main purpose of this article was to sever Korea by written law from China, to remove the legal basis from any claims of Chinese suzerainty over Korea, and thus leave Japan to deal directly with Korea alone in the future.

The Koreans signed this article, but to their minds, it had nothing to do with their relations with China. Korea was still the tributary of China and still bound to fulfill its obligations under the tributary system. The Chinese felt the same way. They had stated that Korea was China's tributary, yet at the same time independent. This type of thinking was all right in a period when no direct threat was posed to it, but after 1870 and the growing emergence of Japan as a strong and aggressive nation--a nation which had adopted many of the same techniques used by the West against China--this formula was to prove a paradox that would lead to difficulties in the future.

The Treaty, then, was not concluded by Korea with the idea that Korea would be opened to the world and remade in the image of the West. On the contrary, it was the concept of the new treaty as a mere extension of previous relations with Japan that made it palatable. At no time was the treaty justified on the grounds that Korea had to be opened up and Western technology and culture brought in to modernize and strengthen the country. Foreign policy objectives under the Min actually remained the same as the under the Taewongun--keeping corrupting foreign influences away from the people. The differences in approach were tactical and relative.

Many Koreans today, looking back upon the events surrounding the opening of their country by Japan, undoubtedly feel indignation at the weakness of the government at that time in succumbing so easily to Japanese demands and forging the first step in a path that was to lead to Korea's annexation by Japan. But what were the alternatives at that time? Was the continuation of stubborn anti-foreignism and the use of force a feasible policy for Korea? Her finances depleted, and her military strength lacking, her administration weakened by corruption and her leadership entangled in court intrigue and political strife--a continuation of the Regent's policies would have been disastrous. Later, alternatives would be proposed by China, and Korea would be urged to protect itself against Japan, and Russia, too, by forming alliances with Western states--but this, too, was to fail, and China, herself, was to suffer defeat at the hands of Japan. Salvation for Korea, as for China, in the 19th and early 20th century depended on a proper awareness of the nature of the imperialistic world of the late 19th century, and the necessity for a concerted effort at adapting to the new techniques of material strength no matter what the consequences to her cultural traditions. The obstacles to such an awareness were formidable--an immobile society not conducive to the rise of an elite based on ability, a tradition of learning

steeped in reverence for the past, with an exegetical approach to scholarship designed to clarify the way of that revered past, a learning preoccupied with the problem of the proper moral behavior of man and lacking a foundation for scientific inquiry-- and also the legacy of the tributary system--a system viewed today by nationalistic Koreans as a disgrace, a blot upon their history, a mark of subservience to another people, but, at the time, a system which had served to insure the Korean state against any outside disturbance for three hundred years from the time of Hideyoshi's invasions. We might even say that the system had saved Korea from outright conquest at that time, too. It would not be an easy task to tear down a system which had proved so effective for so long.

Finally, the Kanghwa Treaty was significant in that it brought on the alienation of those conservative and anti-foreign scholars that had formed one of the pillars of the Min coalition of political forces that had succeeded in bringing about the retirement of the Taejongun. It was this group, along with the Army, which had received so much attention from the Taejongun and was to be neglected by the Min dominated court, which would combine to bring about a brief restoration of the Taejongun in 1882.

(These notes are based on a lecture delivered by Mr. James Palais to the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on 10 December 1963 at the auditorium of the National Medical Center, Seoul)

B. Sedgwick

THE SILLA UNIFICATION--SOME BACKGROUND COMMENTS

By

John Jamieson

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THE SILLA UNIFICATION--SOME BACKGROUND COMMENTS

Note: The period examined spans the first half of the seventh century and primarily the following reigns:

Tang:

T'ai-tsung	太宗	626-249
Kao-tsung	高宗	649-683

Silla:

Muyŏl	勿勿	(Kim Ch'unch'u 金春秋)	654-661
Munmu	文武	(Kim Pŏmmin 金法敏)	661-681

Koguryŏ:

Pojang	寶藏	641-668
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Paekche:

Ŭija	夫置	640-661
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China's attempts to defeat Koguryŏ began soon after the empire's unification at the end of the sixth century. The last southern state having fallen, attention was logically turned to the northeast and strategy planned to consolidate those territories which had once been part of a united mainland empire. Relations had been smooth during the hundred years prior, with Koguryŏ presenting rather regular annual tribute to the Northern Wei at first and then to the various houses succeeding that state to power in northeastern China--a situation illustrated by the humdrum listing of tribute bearing missions which constitutes the Samguk sagi's (completed 1145 by Kim Pusik and staff) Koguryŏ Annals for the sixth century. The pattern continued uneventfully into the first years of Sui's ascendance. Yet once it became obvious that a unified and expanding empire was being dealt with rather than an ephemeral successor to northern power, Koguryŏ's reaction was to strengthen her defenses and, in 598, to break across

her Liao River border in what was apparently an attempt to ensure a more secure buffer. And in turn, this infringement triggered the first of the long series of massive attacks which took until 668 to bring an end to Koguryō.

It was a larger pattern of instability, however, that drew the Chinese into Manchuria, fluid tribal configurations and changing alliances which were always potential dangers to a far-flung mainland empire. At the turn of the sixth century, three major foreign groupings in addition to Koguryō posed threats, one being the Tungusic Mo-ho 靺鞨 (K. Malgal) who were known to the mainland empire as a militant confederation of seven tribes living to the north of the Korean power. Like Koguryō, they had recognized Sui suzerainty, but in 598 joined their southern neighbors in the aforementioned territorial incursions. The Mongol Khitan inhabiting areas around the Liao's lower reaches formed a second group which in 605 provoked Sui by plundering her cities near the borders of Ho-pei. The third and strongest of the powers beyond the wall and the greatest threat to both Sui and T'ang was the eastern wing of the T'u-chüeh, Turkish tribesmen whom the Sui spent considerable effort to contain. It was Koguryō's alleged attempts at alliance with them that is cited as the direct cause for the second of Sui's peninsular expeditions, the large-scale effort of 612 under Yang-ti's direct leadership.

There are also indications that uncertain loyalties among Chinese themselves necessitated the Sui-T'ang militant policy toward Koguryō, specifically as they involved instability in Ho-pei, the area of China proper that bordered Manchuria. Ho-pei had been the center of Northern Ch'i, a state ruled by men who claimed to be of the Chinese Kao 高 clan and one which flourished for more than half a century while maintaining harmonious relations with Koguryō. When it fell in 577 to its western enemy, the Hsien-pei probably (Mongol) Northern Chou, the

locus of imperial power was permanently shifted to Ch'ang-an where the houses of Sui and T'ang, both well interwed with the Mongol clans, were soon to rise, and the northeastern territory declined then in political prestige and economic strength.

This background of political division was one factor in a pattern of serious antagonism between Ho-pei and the Ch'ang-an throne, one which manifested itself in strong resistance from Ho-pei to the establishment of T'ang rule and a scorn and suspicion of men of that region by Ch'ang-an. Pulleyblank has suggested it as a reason for the Korean wars, speculating that the court at Ch'ang-an felt the long-term good relations between Ho-pei and Koguryō to be a danger. Any strong separatist movement there would likely be aided militarily by the formidable Koguryō and her tribal subsidiaries.

Another factor, admittedly more speculative yet sufficiently credible to be seriously considered, is the question of ethnic bonds between Ho-pei and the Korean state. We have said that rulers of Northern Ch'i claimed Chinese ancestry, yet considerable evidence, both in terms of Northern Ch'i political structure and in conflicting genealogical statements, has led to suspicion of the claim's legitimacy and to the generally accepted view that they were instead Mongols, perhaps of the Shih-lou 是婁 clan. Briefly addressing this problem, however, the contemporary historian T'an Ch'i-hsiang 譚其驤 has dismissed the Shih-lou origin theory, first citing the lack of substantiating proof, then by questioning why any Mongol would have wanted to adopt a Chinese clan name. It is well known that the Chinese were held in low regard and discriminated against by the Mongol nobility during this period; so, as T'an postulates, the Kao clan must have originated from a group whose social position was even meaner than that of the Chinese and on which the historians, out of respect or for political

reasons, saw fit to conceal. That group he sees as having been Koguryō. The low status of Koguryō people in north China during the Eastern Wei is demonstrable; so, too, is the number of families of Koguryo background resident in what was later called Ho-pei that had adopted the Kao name and whose social positions were similar to those of the Northern Ch'i rulers' ancestors. Although the thorough examination it requires is a task beyond the scope of this present paper, in its broader aspects T'an's theory seems acceptable. The racial brotherhood it proposes would go another step toward explaining the apparent rapport between Ho-pei and Koguryō and further justify the fear of an alliance which must have been felt by the Ch'ang-an monarchy.

The most often cited motive for expeditions against Koguryō involved internal peninsula politics: ostensibly honoring the tributary allegiance of either Paekche or Silla, mainland attacks would follow a complaint by one of these states that Koguryō had violated its border. The scale of the attacks, their duration and persistence, the personal involvement of the emperor (Sui Yang-ti and T'ang T'ai-tsung both personally commanded campaigns) -- all this, however, quite clearly weakens the credibility of that motive. More realistically, it was, as described above, a territorial expansion into areas that had slipped from control with the fall of the Han and which were now highly combustible.

The history of Sui-T'ang campaigns into Koguryō--ten of major dimension from 598 to 668 -- is deserving in itself of an entire reappraisal. Layers of myth and moralistic patina with which T'ang accounts are obviously encrusted demand scraping away to determine, for example, the extent of Koguryo's role in the fall of the Sui or the real nature and size of the forces which were fielded against the Korean state. While our present discussion cannot digress that widely, it seems pertinent to look briefly at likely causes for the campaigns' failure as

background to Silla's role. For it was only with Silla as an ally that T'ang losses were to turn to victory.

Professor Ch'en Yin-k'o has pointed to terrain and climatic features as perhaps the major obstacles. The thousand mile plus distance from Ch'ang-an to Koguryō's Liao River border took armies into forbidding forest lands where heavy late summer rains are quickly followed by a long, severe winter. This meant that there were at most three months between the end of winter in (lunar) April and the beginning of the concentrated rains in July for mainland armies to subdue their enemy or retreat before the mud, then ice and snow, sealed them in. To maintain attack in adverse weather would demand continuous supply channels which by land, at least, were prevented by the same weather west of the Liao that prevailed to its east. By sea, there was rarely success; navigational skill was an outstanding T'ang weakness while Koguryō's coastal defenses were relatively efficient. Then, quite aware of the climatic restrictions, Koguryō could always be properly alerted. She was not only inherently better equipped to fight in her native habitat but knew she must prepare most fully for a summer invasion. There could be few surprises.

While weather predicted attacks, it was Koguryō's unsurpassed skill at siege resistance that humbled them, resistance by walled towns along the eastern shores of the Liao from Ansi near the mouth on north to the 45th parallel. The common Chinese tactic was to send forces through this line and into the Yalu area so that supply channels could be blocked while larger numbers of troops laid siege to the isolated frontier towns. Once outer defenses were destroyed, the siege force would join the forward flank for a southward assault on the capital at P'yōng-yang. But the frontier towns always held firm. Their remarkable record of success in anchoring the siege armies until seasonal change forced them to lift and withdraw humiliated both Sui Yang'ti's prodigious efforts of 612 and

613, and T'ang T'an-tsung's in 645. Koguryō's tightly cohesive internal control is also provided testimony by this record. T'ang histories paint a bleak picture of a decaying state headed by a maniacal tyrant before T'ai-tsung set out to rectify affairs. Yet battle results belie such a moralistic tale. Allegiance to the alleged tyrant, Kaesomun 蓋蘇文 could readily have been abandoned had his rule been so insufferably ruthless; the outer regions of Koguryō's kingdom, nevertheless, remained perfectly loyal until his death in 666.

A tightly controlled frontier rim, then, together with a protective climate, allowed Koguryō to defend herself in a manner disproportionate with her size. While the pattern of Chinese attacks remained constant, her defenses held firmly intact. The limit of her endurance was reached when a mainland tactical change required defense on her southern border as well. In the following paragraphs, I shall attempt to reconstruct the details of how Silla was able to stimulate that tactical change and thereby engineer the balance of peninsular power to shift in her favor.

Silla Diplomacy - Internal Problems

and the "Paekche First" Tactic

Silla's diplomatic relations with China officially commenced in 381 with dispatch of a tribute bearing mission to the Former Ch'in state. As she was able to expand, so, too, did contacts with mainland states increase, but not to the degree of her sinitically more sophisticated neighbors until mid-sixth century when seizure of lands around the Han River gave her access to the western sea. It was during this period that direct contacts with the mainland stimulated wide adoption of Chinese culture and institutions and the beginnings of the production of Buddhist art and architecture whose remnants are still in brilliant

evidence throughout southereastern Korea.

The seventh century, however, saw a shift in the nature of her foreign relations, from a more or less total emphasis on cultural absorption to a concentrated effort at drawing Sui and T'ang into military involvement in her affairs. Coverage of internal events for this period in the Sanguk sagi is characteristically sparse, yet enough can be assembled to show that the growth experienced in the mid-sixth century -- during the dynamic reign of King Chinhŭng 眞興 (540-575) -- had halted and territorial gains were being eroded away by Paekche and Koguryŏ. Both neighbor states had naturally been chafed by Chinhŭng's growth. Koguryŏ had lost the strategic Han River basin territory in a clash with a joint Silla-Paekche force and again in 551 a large piece of land at her southeastern border fell into Silla hands. Paekche enmity had even deeper roots: the alliance with Silla which had been formed to recover the Han River lands for her own occupation developed into a double-cross and a Silla seizure. Then, in a bitter clash in the following year, 554, her king was killed by Silla troops.

The weakness and inability to control outlying territories which followed Chinhŭng's expansive burst likely resulted from gradual extinction of the sŏnggol 眞骨 line of nobility, Silla's supereminent class and that one which hereditarily monopolized the throne. The second ranking nobility, the chingol 眞骨, had possessed all effective administrative authority for a century or so through the sangdaedung 上大等, a prime ministerial position filled by one of its members; when their possession of the throne, too, became imminent, power groups coalesced and factional fissures developed. Two sŏnggol women ruled in the first half of the seventh century -- Sŏndŏk 善德 (632-646) and Chindŏk 眞德 (647-653) -- after their male line had ended, and this fact

is recorded both in the Annals and in the biography of General Kim Yusin as having been the pretext for an attempted coup d'etat in 647 in which Pidan ^{毗旦}, then sangdaedung, set out to depose the queen since "a female ruler was incapable of governing well." The political realities outlined, however, expose this "yin-yang clash" causal for the patent evaluative dressing it is. Now that the songgol male line was extinct, occupancy of the throne once flushed of baleful female elements would obviously be up for grabs and Pidan was maneuvering himself into prime position. But he was thwarted by a stronger opposition group, his faction obliterated and control of the state assumed by powerful and perceptive men: Kim Yusin, his brother-in-law, Kim Ch'unch'u and their numerous sons. They effected a resolution of ambiguities in authority by restoring the throne's strength and shifting the sangdaedung's administrative responsibilities to a newly established organ under direct control of the throne. Their persistent efforts to woo T'ang were rewarded ultimately with unification of the peninsula, and with this unification, the shape of a distinctively Korean socio-cultural entity was able to form.

With defeat of the Pidan faction the pattern of Silla's China policy changed quite abruptly. Increasingly squeezed and weakened by Paekche's repeated seizures of her strategic western territories, her one recourse for survival was outside support and it was Kim Ch'unch'u who set out on a heroic quest for an ally. His first attempts were close to home: he traveled to Koguryo in 642 where he was rather badly rebuffed, then in 648, according to the Nihon shoki, he led an embassy to Yamato, the timing of which is indication that its aim, too, was surely strategic. In that same year in Ch'ang-an, on a mission to the court of T'ai-tsung, we see Ch'unch'u's diplomatic savoir-faire at last achieving a success that was to define Silla's course of action. The Samguk sagi describes

it as follows:

648 (Annals ^十真錄二年 Chōsenshi gakkai edit. p. 56)
 . . . Ich'an Ch'unch'u and his son, Munwang 文汪, were sent to
 the T'ang court. [[T'ai-tsung sent his Minister of Brilliant Emolument
 光祿卿, Liu Heng 柳亨, to receive them at the
 borders (chiao-lao). When [T'ai-tsung] saw Ch'unch'u's distinguished
 and stately form and deportment, he entertained him richly,]] then when
 Ch'unch'u requested to go to the State Academy to observe the sacrificial
 offerings [to deceased masters] as well as the lectures, T'ai-tsung
 permitted him. He also presented him with [texts of] the Wen-t'ang
 溫湯 and Chin 晉祠碑 Shrine tablet inscriptions and the
 newly compiled History of Chin, all imperial compositions. [[On one
 occasion, he summoned him to an informal audience, presented him with
 very rich gifts of gold and brocades and asked him, "Is there something
 you wish to make known?" Ch'unch'u knelt and spoke to the emperor,
 saying, "Your servant's country, secluded in a corner of the sea, has
 humbly served the Heavenly Court for many years while Paekche, strong
 and crafty, has wantonly encroached on us time and again. A few years
 back, on top of this, she raised a large force and penetrated deep into
 our territory, taking scores of walled towns so as to block our road
 to the Court. If Your Majesty does not assist us with Heavenly Troops
 to excise this malignancy, then the people of my lowly state will all
 become their captives and 'climbing and navigating' to report on our
 office (=traversed arduous routes, tribute missions to the court of
 T'ang) can never again be hoped for." T'ai-tsung wholly agreed with this
 and gave permission for an army to be dispatched.]] Ch'unch'u also
 requested [permission] to change [Silla's] official dress so as to
 conform to the Chinese standard, whereupon [T'ai-tsung] had precious
 clothing brought out and presented to Ch'unch'u and his accompanying
 staff. He proclaimed that Ch'unch'u be given the title Specially
 Advanced and that Munwang be made General of the Left Martial Guard.
 And when [Ch'unch'u] was about to return home, it was proclaimed that
 all officials above grade three feast him at a banquet. He was treated
 with utmost cordiality and ceremony. [[Ch'unch'u said to the Emperor,
 "Your servant has seven sons and his wish is that they be allowed to
 remain in the [] [Night] Guard of Your Sagely Brilliance," whereupon
 his son Munwang and the Grand Overseer [] [] were so commanded.]]*

The Ch'unch'u mission was but the last of three in 648, an unusual if not
 unprecedented annual number and indicative of the intensity of Silla's efforts
 to solicit T'ang arms aid. On the second of these, Silla agreed to adopt T'ang
nien-hao and thus comply with a normal tributary state practice which she had

* Double bracketed material is original with the Sanguk sagi; boxes
 indicate textual lacunae.

violated for more than a century. With the third mission, Ch'unch'u's skillful effort, Silla played a role as the tributary state closest to classical perfection. She requested permission to adopt official dress in physical emulation of the T'ang and, with calculated restraint, Ch'unch'u asked to visit the State Academy where the essence of China's culture was probed, this before raising any discussion of the mission's substance. His motive, of course, was to contrast Silla as a nation of cultured refinement, whose interests lay first in the absorption of Chinese learning, with Koguryo's recognized barbarity and the obnoxious duplicity of Paekche.

A more substantive achievement of the mission, however, was the receipt of permission to deposit Munwang in the Night Guard, a corps of the emperor's personal bodyguards within T'ang's larger palace guard. It established a pattern which was to be followed throughout Silla's lifetime whereby royal sons or close relatives went to T'ang for periods of various length as hostages, the "external hostage" category described by Professor Yang Lien-sheng. In a brief summary and analysis of the rise and fall of Silla with which he closes the Sanguk sagi's Silla Basic Annals, Kim Pusik has singled out participation in this system as one of the major factors which brought that state to its golden age:

. . . Their emissaries who 'climbed and navigated to pay respects to the Court went one upon the other without cease. They often sent their sons and brothers to the Court for service in the Night Guard or to enter the Academy to study and learn. Thus they were transformed by the teachings of the Sages. They changed what had been cultivated rusticity into a land of etiquette and propriety.

Sanguk sagi entries concerning T'ang contacts during this early period nowhere equate service in the Night Guard with a hostage system, yet Chinese sources, in particular the Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei, offer ample proof that it was and that it was widely practiced with other foreign states, although with greatest regularity

in Silla's case. It was to provide insurance against the participant states' betrayal of T'ang -- in theory; in practice with Silla, it provided considerably greater advantage to her. First, Silla, then the smallest of the peninsular states, was awarded with what must have been viewed as a more prestigious recognition by the Chinese empire. There are notices of Koguryō and Paekche princes traveling to T'ang but as leaders of tribute missions who returned home immediately, not as hostages, and a 644 request by Koguryō that certain of her people be admitted to the Night Guard had been angrily refused. On the level of domestic politics alone, Ch'unch'u's role in the power struggle previously outlined must have been significantly transformed by this new relationship with China: within the fluctuating ranks of the nobility, the Kim Ch'unch'u-Kim Yusin faction was now buttressed by an element which transcended traditional "bone rank" determinants and which could plainly provide the solution to her international distress. Second, the strategic importance of an intermediary in such close contact with the throne was considerable. Not only did it provide an opportunity for Silla's case to be presented with more deliberation, but when T'ang forces ultimately did join the attack on Paekche, one of Ch'unch'u's sons who had been sent into the Ch'ang-an Night Guard, Kim Inmun 金仁問, acted as leading strategist, then guided the T'ang naval force to its destination. Third, there is evidence that the hostage was able to serve an intelligence function which forewarned Silla of mainland military activities. In the years 670 and 671, so the Sanguk yusa records, when Silla and T'ang were at cross purposes, Night Guard Kim Inmun and other Silla representatives resident in Ch'ang-an were jailed in retaliation for their country's alleged acts of treason, to wit, occupation of former Koguryō and Paekche territories she felt were her rightful spoils. Inmun had time, however, to inform the Silla monk, Uisang 慧相, of T'ang plans to

invade their country and to send him back to alert coastal defense forces, resulting in total destruction of the Chinese fleet. So with potential in prestige, strategy and espionage terms, establishment of a hostage relationship with T'ang was a notable exploit, an essential to Silla's survival and later growth as a state.

It was a secondary item on the 648 mission's agenda, however, the fundamental objective having been to persuade T'ai-tsung to join a move against Paekche and relieve the pressure which was squeezing Silla closer and closer to the ocean. The Chinese court had no real reason for considering Silla as significantly more reliable than Paekche theretofore. During most of T'ai-tsung's reign both peninsular states had offered tribute regularly, Paekche, in fact, with somewhat more regularity than Silla. Then, while Paekche had been accused of double-dealing with the Sui vis-a-vis Koguryò, Silla's insubordinate adherence to a parallel set of nien-hao, equally seditious behavior, had been closely observed. Having shown herself repentant now, the problem was to convince T'ang that their individual problems were best attacked in concert and that once released from her desperate position, Silla would surely supply the leverage T'ai-tsung needed to crush his northeastern foe: a base in a secured southern flank to aid with troops and provisions which would free his northern attack force from preoccupation with the weather as well as force a division in Koguryò's defensive concentration. Ch'unch'u's mission elicited first mention of T'ang interest in invading Paekche:

Our present attacks on Koryò are for but one reason: We take pity on your Silla, hemmed in by two states, always invaded and humiliated with never a year of peace. Hills, rivers and land I do not covet; jewels, silks, sons and daughters (= people, citizens) are things I possess. When I subdue the two states, both [territory] southward from P'yöngyang and the land of Paekche will be given to your Silla, for eternal tranquillity. (SGSG 7, p. 77)

Nowhere in the records is it explicit that Silla defined the strategy requiring defeat of Paekche as a first step toward victory over Koguryō. The majority of Chinese sources sanctimoniously describe T'ang's 660 move as having been in response to repeated requests for aid from Silla, action born of pity for a beleaguered subject. Only once or twice does the real motive get attention, and then but cursorily, as in the biography of a chief administrator in the Paekche military colony, Liu Jen-kuei, where Liu's memorials to Kao-tsung describe that monarch's desire to reach Koguryō through Paekche. The Samguk sagi, on the other hand, drops sufficient hint for the reader to conclude that Silla, represented by Ch'unch'u and Yusin, was the indispensable catalyst in formulation of the plan, if not its actual architect. First, the description of Ch'unch'u's conversation with T'ai-tsung is extant only in the Sagi, including both the quote immediately above from King Munmu's reply to General Hsüeh Jen-kuei and the section of the Silla Basic Annals of 648 previously cited. There we see the T'ang emperor promising troop aid (a point reiterated in Kim Yusin's biography, SGSG 41, p. 429) discussing defeat of both Koguryo and Paekche and committing himself to an important territorial deal. Since at no point prior to this was any such strategy seriously considered by T'ang -- there is no mention of a plan to conquer Paekche in the Chinese sources during the whole of T'ai-tsung's reign -- we are left to conclude that it must have been stimulated by Ch'unch'u. The Silla noble had, it will be remembered, approached Koguryō for aid before his visit to T'ai-tsung. His belligerent reception there was followed in the next year with an attack on Silla by a joint Koguryō-Paekche force so that by the time of the 648 mission to Ch'ang-an, Silla was quite prepared, given an alliance, to attack northward as well. Second, there are numerous Silla Annals statements in the years immediately following Koguryō's defeat which corroborate the conversations with T'ai-tsung

by repeating that subdual of Paekche and Koguryō was Ch'unch'u's plan. The following can be noted:

- a. 668 (SGSG 6, p. 72) in the text of an oath read at the royal ancestral shrines: "Respectfully continuing the will of our former king we joined Great T'ang in setting forth our volunteers to call Paekche and Koguryō to account for their crimes. . ."
- b. 669 (SGSG6, p. 72) in an amnesty decree: "His (Muyōl's) wish then (when he travelled to T'ai-tsung's court to seek military aid) was to subdue these two states and abolish war forever. . ."
- c. From the biography of Kangsu (SGSG 46, p. 464): "Our former king's request for troops from T'ang and resultant subdual of Koguryō and Paekche is called a martial triumph, yet it was also aided by the brush . . ."

A third source indicating the predominance of Silla's role in unification strategy is the biography of Kim Yusin, the dynamic portrayal of a figure whose principal mission in life was to defeat his country's enemies and bring them under one rule. The Sanguk sagi appraises him as having been "able to act in accord with his will: by joining plans with the Exalted State (= T'ang) three lands were combined into one family (=state) and he was able to end his days with merit and fame. Several incidents within the biography even point to this ambition as having jelled at a very early age and some years before T'ai-tsung's enthronement. The example below is said to have occurred in 611:

In the twenty-eighth year of the Fortune Establishing era (kōnbok 建福) of King Chinp'yōng's reign, sinmae 辛未, Lord [Yusin] was seventeen sui. Seeing his country's border territory being invaded and attacked by Koguryo, Paekche and the Malgal his spirit was aroused to a determination to defeat the brigands. He went alone into a stone grotto in the Central Peaks where he purified (lit. 'fast and abstain') himself then swore a pledge to Heaven, saying, "The unprincipled enemies harass our lands like wolves and tigers -- hardly a year is left with peace. I am but one insignificant subject, devoid of skill or strength but determined to purge this calamity and unrest. If only Heaven would look down at this and lend me a hand." He remained there for four days when suddenly an old man clad in rough garments came and said, "It is filled with poisonous snakes and wild beasts here -- a frightful place. Why do you come here and stay by yourself, my noble youth?" He answered, "Where do you come from, old sir? Can you tell me your esteemed name?" The old man said,

"I don't live anywhere and I come and go as fate directs. My name is Nansung . . ." When Lord [Yusin] heard this he knew that this was no ordinary human. He bowed twice, then approached him saying, "I am a man of Silla. When I see my country's bitter enemies, my heart is pained and my head filled with ache -- that is why I come here. My hope is to meet with some [solution]. Humbly I beg you, old sir, to take pity on my pure sincerity and give me a formula." The old man was quiet, uttering not a word. Lord [Yusin] cried and sobbed, imploring him without rest and after the sixth or seventh [time] the old man spoke and said, "You are but a youth, yet determined to unite the three kingdoms. How brave!", then, as he gave him a secret formula, he continued, "Take care not to pass this on recklessly. If it is used improperly it will turn disaster on you." He finished speaking then left and went for about two leagues when [Yusin] pursued him but he was nowhere in sight. There was only a brilliance on the mountain top, glittering as if in all five colors. (SGSG 41, p. 426)

Temporal references contained in such magico-religious anecdotes can hardly be given complete credence, this on top of there being no indication of such an early development of plans to incorporate Paekche and Koguryō elsewhere in the history. Yet the rationalistic Kim Pusik felt no need to alter what must have been obvious as an anachronism. With an eighth century compilation as his major biographical source, he apparently saw the whole anecdote as grounded firmly enough in tradition as well as in sufficient agreement in its broader theme with other surviving documentation to warrant inclusion.

Some thirty years were to transpire before the design envisioned by Silla and spelled out by T'ai-tsung and Ch'un-ch'u in 648 was to be fully realized. And while it could still be argued that proof of a Ch'un-ch'u-Yusin faction plot to utilize T'ang toward ultimate control of the peninsula is weak on the basis of a lone Korean source, the remarkable accomplishments of the 648 mission cannot be denied. T'ai-tsung's death in the following year seems to have restrained the promised overseas expedition, yet in spite of efforts by both Paekche and Koguryō at maintaining tribute status, T'ang's favors thereafter were directed toward Silla alone. In the past, Silla's attempts to engage T'ang in her fight with

Paekche had at best elicited an admonition, directed at herself as well, to mend differences and live in neighborly amity. Now, in her new status, she could assault her neighbor with impunity and report her successes to T'ang while Paekche was threatened with destruction if her attacks on Silla continued.

But with few successes to report, it was mandatory that Silla's new leadership sustain that status and continue forceful appeals for intervention. Kim Ch'unch'u's authority in Silla politics, as has been suggested, had been greatly enhanced by his establishment of exclusive rights with T'ang. With Kim Yusin's support he gained control of the throne just four years after his return and in the meantime had kept various of his sons on the road to Ch'ang-an to maintain pressure for troop aid. Pŏmmin 法敏, the eldest (later King Munmu), went in 650 carrying with him an ode for presentation to the emperor entitled "In Praise of Peace" 太平頌; embroidered on brocade by the queen and oozing pious praise of T'ang as appointed helmsman of the universe, it was calculated at once to flatter imperial vanity and further impress the throne with Silla's classical finesse. The vital role assumed by Ch'unch'u's second son, Inmun 仁問, in directing T'ang's fleet toward peninsular shores has already been mentioned. He went on the first of many trips to the Chinese court in 651 and, as his biography notes, died there in 694. A third son and uterine brother of the first two, Munwang 文王, has been seen as the initial Silla Night Guard; after an interim return to his country he was dispatched back to T'ang in 656. Then in preparation for moves against Koguryŏ subsequent to Paekche's defeat, the trek of clan sons continued: Kim Inmun again in 664; Kim Int'ae 金仁泰, Ch'unch'u's son born of a concubine, in 665 or 666; Kim Sangwang 金三光, oldest son of Kim Yusin in 666; and finally, Kim Hŭmsun 金欽純, Yusin's younger brother, in 669. This busy activity stands in distinct contrast to the

situation in the last quarter of the seventh century when relations between Silla and T'ang grew temporarily cold and embassies nearly stopped. Kim Inmun had returned to Ch'ang-an with the victorious armies after 668 and was resident there as a rather ineffectual hostage, but not one other royal family member traveled to the court until 713. In addition, only two tribute bearing missions are recorded prior to the advent of the eighth century.

The total clan commitment, then, achieved its desired end. On the firm foundation of Ch'unch'u's agreements with T'ai-tsung, an unusual diplomatic policy was pursued until Paekche and Koguryō had succumbed; then, when T'ang failed to comply to the letter of her promise, tribute obeisance ceased and force was applied against T'ang so as to conclude Silla's territorial design.

The coalition was of course a marriage of convenience both for T'ang and Silla. T'ang's constant failure to subdue Koguryō through direct attack from the mainland had made the peninsular stronghold tactic a last resort, but lacking maritime confidence, aid from Silla was imperative. Silla's impasse has been considered at length, yet involvement in the coalition so vital to her survival carried a danger that it might well consume her, too. Once established on the peninsula, mainland presence could become permanent and Silla, as well as her adjacent neighbors, physically absorbed into the expanding T'ang empire. Silla was clearly aware of this possibility and prepared should it arise. She elected to recognize T'ang suzerainty; the contingency was that she in turn be recognized as sole power south of P'yōngyang and it was only with this recognition that she became the constant factor in relations with T'ang that we know in later generations.

Kim Ok-Kyun

Pioneer of Reform, Modernization in Korea

This is the first of a series of three articles about Kim Ok-kyun. — Ed.

By HAROLD F. COOK

The last two decades of the 19th century were an excitingly fascinating period in modern Korean history. An ancient kingdom with a long, and often glorious, history was rudely awakened from a protracted slumber and suddenly thrust upon the stage of world history. Progress, modernization, and enlightenment overnight became imperfectly understood, but desperately sought, blessings for the "Hermit Kingdom."

In the initial stages of this hesitant march into the 20th century, one figure stands head and shoulders above the rest, and what he attempted to do remains surrounded with controversy to this very day. The man was Kim Ok-kyun (1851-1894), and the historic event with which his name has become almost synonymous was the 1884 Incident.

Kim Ok-kyun was born in Chungcheong province on February 23, 1851, the first son of Kim Pyong-tae. He was a member of the Andong Kim clan in the 25th generation of descent from the original clan ancestor. Kim's mother was a daughter of Song Yun-dok of the Unjin Song clan.

As with most figures of this period, little is known about Kim Ok-kyun's early life. Neither his father, grandfather, nor great-grandfather, however, passed the higher civil service examination nor did they occupy a very important government post. Despite his lineage in one of 19th century Korea's most powerful and prestigious clans, Kim's origins were humble.

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At an undetermined point of time, Kim Pyong-tae released Kim Ok-kyun for adoption by a childless near clansman, Kim Pyong-gi, who was related to Kim's natural father by a common great-grandfather. Kim's adoptive mother was a Chonju Yi, the daughter of Yi U-wan. One of his new aunts, a sister of his adoptive father, was married to a brother of Dowager Queen Cho, the widow of King Injong.

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Forerunners of Change

To Our Readers

As part of our special Sunday features, "Forerunners of Change," Dr. Harold F. Cook writes a three-installment article on Kim Ok-kyun beginning with today's supplement. Dr. Cook earned his Ph.D. in East Asian history from Harvard. Now, he is a member of the administrative faculty of Sogang University. Dr. Cook is the author of "Korea's 1884 Incident: Its Background and Kim Ok-kyun's Elusive Dream."



Dr. Cook

The serialized features by Dr. Samuel Moffett will follow Dr. Cook's three-part article. Dr. Moffett, associate president of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, has written about Cespedes, Hamel and Gutzlaff under the title of "Forerunners of Change" which were published in the Herald's March 4th, 11th and 18th issues.

On March 10 and 11, 1872 during a week of early spring rain, King Kojong paid ceremonial visits to the national Confucian shrine on the grounds of the national academy. The customary higher civil service examination commemorating this visit was held on March 12, and Kim Ok-kyun passed with highest honors. He had just turned 21.

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For a relatively prolonged period of time, therefore, Kim Ok-kyun was in close contact with the king. By the early 1880s possibly no other contemporary junior official had served in such sensitive censorate posts for such an extended period of time. That King Kojong ultimately came to know him well and to value his opinions cannot be doubted.

The official record provides little clue of Kim's early interest in modernization and reform, although from the beginning it is evident that he was a figure of controversy. His memorials to the king generally give evidence of a conservative, orthodox viewpoint. At least from the time of his two-year period of mourning for his adoptive mother, however, and probably from somewhat earlier,

Kim began to turn his attention more and more to a study of the need for modernization and reform in Korea and for the best means by which this might be accomplished. As a result, by the early 1880s, his thinking had grown incompatible with that of most of his tradition-oriented contemporaries.

Korea's earliest contact with Western thought and scholarship occurred first at the Ming court and continued at the Ch'ing court in Peking. It was there that Korean scholars received their introduction not only to Christianity but also to such Western subjects as astronomy, geography, mathematics, and medicine. Study of these new subjects caused the more critical minds in Korea to search for new sources of intellectual stimulation, as well as political and economic reorganization, outside the framework of Chu Hsi Neo-Confucian orthodoxy.

'Sirhak' School

Work initiated by 17th century scholars bloomed in the 18th century as the practical or real learning movement, called sirhak in Korean. This school rose in Korea on the base just outlined and under the influence of the more realistic "Han learning" or the "school of empirical research" of the Ch'ing and was fostered by the desire of some scholars to find better answers to the problems of the day than those provided by the fossilized doctrines of Chu Hsi.

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Through Pak, Kim apparently met O Kyong-sok, who served as chief interpreter on Pak's 1872 mission to Peking. O, in fact, made no fewer than six trips to China between 1856 and 1874 and became a complete convert to the cause of Western culture and civilization and a strong advocate of opening Korea to the world. In 1876 O served as chief Chinese language interpreter for the treaty negotiations with Japan on Kanghwa Island.

Another man whom Kim Ok-kyun met at about this same time was Yu Tae-ch'i. Yu was a friend of O Kyong-sok who operated an herb medicine shop in central Seoul.



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Japanese Buddhist monk Terada Fukujū, friend of Korean Buddhist monk Yi Tong-in, who assisted Kim Ok-kyun in Japan.

Introduction

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Another man whom Kim Ok-kyun met at about this same time was Yu Tae-ch'i. Yu was a friend of O Kyong-sok who operated an herb medicine shop in central Seoul and who had a deep interest in Buddhism, a subject which Kim pursued with zeal throughout his life. Yu became an eager reader of the books on Western subjects which O secretly brought back from Peking and a firm supporter of Korean modernization and reform. Kim liked Yu and respected him as a teacher.

From a background of sirhak studies, therefore, Kim Ok-kyun became deeply involved with Pak Kyu-su, O Kyong-sok, and Yu Tae-ch'i, all of whom are regarded by Korean historians as being pioneers of the movement to open Korea to the world and to reform and modernize the country on the Western pattern.

Concurrent with the time period 1877-1878 when he was in mourning for his adoptive mother and held no official posts, Kim Ok-kyun's thinking began to be influenced from the direction of Japan rather than China. Through his own



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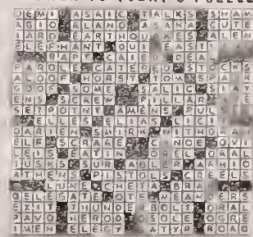
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But weather satellites have shown during the past few months that trade wind cumulus clouds a few thousand meters high disappear when they move over these 160 km wide cold water masses.

"We've seen it a number of times," Strong said in a telephone interview from Washington. "The 1 1/2 to 2 degree difference in surface temperature in the cold water eddy compared with the water surrounding it is apparently sufficient at times to disperse low lying clouds."

ANSWER TO TODAY'S PUZZLE



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Japanese Buddhist monk Terada Fukuju, friend of Korean Buddhist monk Yi Tong-in, who assisted Kim Ok-kyun in Japan.

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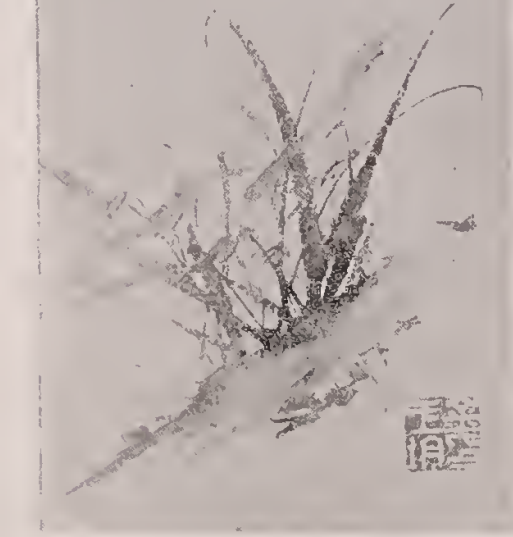
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RARE PAINTING—One of Kim Ok-kyun's paintings of orchids. This picture is in the possession of Kim's granddaughter, Mrs. Kim Pil-han who is living in Seoul.

Korea Herald Photo

... of a re-
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Powerless To Resist

Queen Yun Suffers Full Impact Of Wreckings of Yi Dynasty

The following is the second and concluding part of an article dealing with the life of Queen Yun and historical events in the declining years of the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910).—Ed.

By HO-CHOL SHIN

King Sunjong was a powerless king who lived through the last troubled years of the declining Yi dynasty.

On July 19, 1907, the Japanese forced the abdication of King Kojong in connection with the secret dispatch that year of three emissaries to The Hague, and enthroned his second son, Sunjong.

King Kojong had dispatched the emissaries to the Second International Peace Conference to appeal for removal of Japanese oppression in the name of international justice.

The conference, however, refused their participation on the ground that Korea was the protectorate of Japan. The three emissaries persistently lobbied to get support from individual nations and newsmen. Jun Yi, one of the emissaries, became ill and died at The Hague. (Some have insisted that he committed suicide by disemboweling himself before the world delegates.)

Provoked and angered by this news, the Japanese dethroned King Kojong by force.

Three years after King Sunjong ascended the throne, the Japanese forcibly concluded the protectorate treaty, under which Korea ultimately delivered over her financial and diplomatic affairs to Japan. This was the end of the five-century-old Yi Dynasty (1392-1910).

In these political situations, King Sunjong maintained a neutral stand to remain unhurt.

Dejected over the nation's fate, the king became sometimes absent-minded, especially when he met with foreigners, Hyo-yong Yi, the



YOUNG QUEEN—This is an official photograph of Queen Yun released at the time of her marriage to King Sunjong when she was 13 years old.

then protocol official, recalled.

The king, Yi said, frequently lost himself in meditation while in conversation with foreigners and used to interrupt his partners by asking quite different questions from the subjects they were discussing.

The king was often found mumbling "All is my fault." This well reveals how he suffered in the decline of the dynasty.

Under the circumstances, Queen Yun, then 18 years old, could not enjoy a happy life. The queen knew what was going on, but was powerless to do anything about it.

It has been rumored that the queen one time served lunch to her father, Taek-yong Yun, with empty silver dishes, when her father visited her palace. She apparently intended this as an explanation in a roundabout way of the gloomy side of her palace life.

Her father, got heavily in debt and ran away to China

to escape scores of debt collectors. He had spent too much money giving extravagant receptions for as many as 2,800 guests who came to congratulate him on the marriage of his eldest daughter to King Sunjong.

In 1926, he came home to attend the state funeral for King Sunjong, but was forced to go into exile again to avoid his creditors. It was the last time Queen Yun saw her father.

The tragedies dogging the declining royal family were manifold.

In 1924, the Japanese took to Japan Princess Dokhae, the only daughter of King Kojong, and married her to a Japanese nobleman.

The princess returned to Korea from Japan in 1962 after a lapse of 38 years, broken in spirit and health. She is now under medical care.

Earlier in 1907, the Japanese had taken Crown Prince Eun Yi to Japan as a hostage. He was 10 years old at the time.

The crown prince seemed destined to tragedy when he was born during the turmoil of Korea's persistent struggle to remain independent from Japan. The Japanese colonialists thought it dangerous to let the prince live in Korea.

In 1920, one year after his father died in Seoul, the prince was married to a member of the Japanese royal family, Princess Masako, in Tokyo.

The crown prince had a son, Ku Yi, who is married to an American. The royal family returned to Korea from Japan in November, 1963.

The dramatic reunion between Queen Yun and the royal family after a lapse of 56 years brought much delight to the late queen. Her life truly encompassed a panoramic view of the decline of the Yi Dynasty.



VALENTINE BALL with Mrs. Pedro G. Ramirez, ambassador to Valentine ball at

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Korea's First Envoy

The following is the third in a series of articles portraying the lives of Korean pioneers in various fields such as religion, aviation, diplomacy, education, and so on. — Ed.

After a deep salam to President Grover Cleveland at the reception room in the White House, a short Oriental envoy with a stony face walked slowly toward the president and handed him his credentials from King Kojong of Tae Chosun.

It was on Jan. 18, 1888 when Chung-yang Pak formally took the post of the ministership to the United States, despite incessant attempts of the Ching Empire of China to obstruct Korea's independent diplomatic approach to the Western countries:

He was appointed to the post in June, 1887, and his nomination caused anxiety in China. For China used to regard Korea as her vassal state which had no power to negotiate with foreign countries without permission from her.

The royal court of Tae Chosun of Korea lodged a strong protest with the Ching government against China's reluctance to authorize the dispatch of Korean envoys to foreign countries and argued that their appointment was made in accordance with the Korea-U.S. Amity Treaty of 1881.

China, which played the role of intermediary for the success of the treaty as a means for reversing the predominant Japanese influence in Korea through intervention of the Western powers, approved the Korean plan to send its resident emissaries to the United States.

But the Chinese approval was based on three instructions:

1. Korean envoys in foreign countries should first pay courtesy calls at Chinese missions and later on to the heads of receiving countries together with the Chinese mission chiefs.

2. Korean envoys abroad should take seats next to those of the Chinese delegates in all official and formal social gatherings and receptions.

3. The Korean envoys should consultate with the

Chinese ministers prior to negotiating with the accredited countries on "matters of grave importance."

This Chinese concession was a big diplomatic gain for the tiny kingdom of Tae Chosun from the giant empire of Ching which was then almost desperate in her efforts to retain her superiority over weak neighboring countries, also preventing the interventions of the Western powers in Asia.

Minister Pak, however, did not faithfully follow the three instructions given him by Ching Empire.

He frequently met with the high-ranking U.S. officials without previous notification to the Chinese legation and he even conferred with them on some "matters of grave importance," which the Ching government had sternly prohibited.

The Chinese minister repeatedly accused him of "disobedience" to the instructions every time Pak failed to act upon them and made reports to the Ching government on the misconduct of the Korean envoy.

During his two-year stay in the United States, Pak made remarkable achievements in enhancing Korea's prestige abroad.

Through his skilful negotiations, he succeeded in obtaining a \$2,000,000-loan from a U.S. bank, but the contract was cancelled later through the interference of the Ching government.

Pak sent home mining equipment to develop Korea's fledgling secondary industry, and helped various technicians and engineers to engage in Korean factories.

He and his aides in the Korean embassy were the focus of attention and curiosity in Washington society for their unique costumes.

For many months every time he went outside the legation many men and women, young and old swarmed around him with curious eyes and took pictures of him.

To our regret, Pak was relieved of his Washington post in July, 1889. His dismissal was inevitable because



Pak

of Ching's persistent insistence that he should be blamed for his failure to live up to the three instructions.

On his way home he stopped in Japan, where he stayed for two months for fear that he might be punished by the Chinese government.

The Korean government could not dispatch Pak's successor to Washington as the Ching obstructed its every effort for carrying out independent diplomacy toward foreign countries.

And no one wanted to assume the ministership to the United States which might bring misfortune to his political life.

Afterwards, Korea did not station resident envoys in other countries with which it maintained diplomatic relations except Japan until it became Japan's protectorate in 1905.

Pak later became prime minister in 1895. During his short reign in power he enforced administrative reforms and tried to root out corruption among the civil servants.

"Honest and incorruptible by nature, Pak himself was always poor and he did not dress their children in silks," reminisces Mrs. Yong-ae Kim, daughter-in-law of the first Korean minister to the United States.

Pak died in 1905, the very year Korea lost her sovereign power for diplomatic negotiations with foreign countries for which he devoted his career even at the risk of his own life.

...approaches, ...small by ... fingers and ... Christmas ... Leaves were ... elements in ... as well as

Observers most delicate current Sino-Pakistani friendship pertains to the steady influx of Chinese officials into Pakistan.

Heart-felt applause to Miller! Sincerely yours, Buck H. W. Solinmag Songdong-gu, Seoul

... for unity and unification for good. If the modern science of medicine can put a broken, severed arm back where it was, so it can be

Let us ... others to walk by, ... after us. Miss Yun is working at Seoul YWCA.

Around the World in 16th Century

Knee Times Dec. 21, 1965

Korea Fascinates Early Globe-Trotter

MY VOYAGE AROUND THE WORLD by Francesco Carletti. Translated by Herbert Weinstock. Random House, New York 1964; Methuen, London, 1965. UK price 30s. 270pp.

Reviewed by Richard Rutt Francesco Carletti wrote his Ragionamenti del mio viaggio intorno al mondo in the early part of the seventeenth century. They are well known by name to perusers of Korean Bibliographies because they contain some of the earliest western language references to Korea. Bishop Trollope translated the relevant sections in a version that was published posthumously in Japan in 1932; now here is an American translation of the oldest manuscript of the whole work.

Carletti left Florence in 1594, when he was 21 years old, with his father on what they intended as a fairly routine slave-trading expedition to the West Indies. It was, however, strictly illegal, because the Florentine Carletti was masquerading as a Spaniard. The voyage turned into an eight-year trip that went all the way round the world. He made good profit on his ventures, and was nearing Europe again in 1602 when the Portuguese vessel in which he was travelling became involved in a skirmish with Dutch ships off St. Helena. Carletti landed up in the Netherlands, where he spent four years in litigation

trying to regain his confiscated merchandise. When he arrived back in Florence in 1606 he was barely better off than when he had left. His father had died in Macao.

The Ragionamenti purport to be a verbal report of his travels made to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinando de' Medici. Most of it describes what he himself saw and did, free from miracle stories and strange wonders, but packed with information about methods of travel and trade, with accurate details about pricing of goods and methods of payment. At one point he offers tips about timetables for anyone who might consider making a similar voyage, but it is clear that the legal difficulties of international travel were no less daunting in the sixteenth century than they are in the twentieth. He constantly had trouble with his papers, especially his licences for slave-hunting.

Curious Information

Curious information abounds: details of the roasted bananas drenched in white wine which he ate in Panama, and the naked Negro slaves used as dining room candelabra by the Portuguese in the Cap Verde Islands; arcana of the cochineal trade, and shrewd comments on the Chinese attitude to gold (they treated it as a form of merchandise and not as a standard for values; it rose or fell in price with the season and the situation). In Mexico he took to cocoa but not to tobacco, and in the Orient he failed to appreciate tea. He found the Japanese cult of tea-bowls beyond comprehension. (He was not the last to do so). His calendar was upset because the international date line had not been fixed.

Almost everywhere he discovered exotic erotica which he reported with coy lubricity. Japan disgusted him as the home of all venery; Goa offered him delights that included a royal aphrodisiac compounded of crushed almonds, sugar, amber, musk, pulverized pearls, rose-water and egg yolks. In the Philippines and Burma he found surgical practices which he calls "diabolic" but describes with resulted fascination.

The translator of such a book can have a field day with footnotes. The only thing wrong with this edition, which is charmingly designed and most pleasingly printed, is that the annotations are sketchy. The translator is obviously happier with Italian than with Chinese, and leaves many obscure Oriental words without annotation. In one quite unbelievable footnote he suggests that Liukiu Islands may be a name for Formosa. He identifies many fruits and plants by their botanical names, but passes over the persimmon, which Carletti calls "a citrus," entirely. He takes the trouble to tell us that the ananas or pina (described graphically by Carletti) is the pineapple, but does not recognize that Chinese musk comes from deer. In fact this is the sort of book where a reviewer can also have a field day with the footnotes.

Carletti was a Christian, a Catholic. He had a niggling conscience about his slaves, but his ill-instructed theology led him to believe that they had no souls till they had been baptized. He knew well how to make use of the missionaries he met, and shrewdly comments on the high cost of the Jesuit missions in Japan, having enquired into their budgetting during his stay at Macao. Of one eager-beaver Capuchin friar who made a spectacular and would-be heroic attempt to become the Apostle of the Ladrone Islands he tells wry anecdotes. He can recall "a most comfortable, pleasant, and delectable Lent" in Lima with the same matter-of-factness that he describes the "solemnity" he kept during Lent 1602, when he was imprisoned in a Dutch ship with wretched food. He gives due credit to the Japanese martyrs, but sees no reason to slur over the embroilments of missionaries in trading and politics. He was devout as most ordinary church-going Christians are devout today in many denominations: it is an all too human form of religion.

Bought 5 Koreans

He did not reach Korea, but he heard much about it in Japan. His picture of Japan is brutal and realistic. It was the time of Hideyoshi and his invasions. It would be surprising

how sympathetic he is to Korea did we not know that he bought five Koreans very cheaply from among Hideyoshi's prisoners of war. One of them he managed to take all the way home to Italy, duly baptized. This man lived on in Rome as Antonio Corea. The story of Antonio and his journeyings to the centre of the European High Renaissance seems to ache for a novelist's treatment.

One episode Carletti relates. When the Dutch ship had beaten the Portuguese ship into submission near St. Helena, the Portuguese were given the chance to save their lives by swimming to a Dutch boat and boarding it, but the Dutch sailors refused to take aboard any Portuguese who was not carrying jewels or gold. The men who had no valuables were fended off with swords and left to drown. The Korean had no jewels, but he hung round his neck two religious trinkets made of copper by Japanese artists. The cupidinous Dutchmen fell for the ruse and Antonio was allowed to board the lifeboat.

Of Korea itself Carletti learned very little, though he thought the Chinese called it Fowshem. (Our translator gives no footnote, but other misspellings of Oriental words in the book suggest that it is a corruption of Chiao-hsien) and he lists the eight provinces of Kienkwi, Cenluan, Honhei, Chiuala, Hientsien, Tionchion, Hankien, and Piamkin. Possibly he got this list from Antonio. It is weird, because some of the names seem to have a Chinese pronunciation, some a Japanese, and some a Korean. He calls Seoul Chosen. He does not describe han-gul, though he talks at length of the Japanese syllabary and gives many examples of Chinese logographs and says that the Koreans used them too. He was not sure whether Korea was an island or peninsula. It would seem that Antonio must have been taken prisoner at a very early age or else have been poorly educated.

So for the Koreanist Carletti is a minor source, though a quaint one; but for general reading and a plain picture of a great period he is a most beguiling author.

oman's World

Again France ascension Prio, sly saved from se by firemen y grateful to but I must add been a steady miracles," she was a passeng-amed Titanic 1912. "As you go down with added. "So I

could not go up with these flames either."

Is It Worth It?

BONN, Germany (WNS) — The man or woman who wants to live to a ripe old age should find a legal mate. Such is the conclusion of the latest government statistics published in West Germany. They indicate that widowed women and divorced men die at earlier ages than those who are married and living with their spouses.

Campaigning Pace Quickens *Korea Times Jan. 1, 1967*

Opposition Split Points to DRP Victory

By JUNG-SUP BAE

Whenever a New Year dawns, everybody prays that something he longs for in his heart will be fulfilled during the year. But this year, politicians would have heard the bells ringing in the New Year of 1967 with particularly poignant emotions.

For there will be the general elections, including the presidential election, this year. With the elections only four months away, a torrent of election campaigning has begun to flood the country.

Despite all the fuss and noise accompanying the campaigns, however, all indications are that the elections will not bring much change to the nation's political scene.

Political experts, basing their estimates on various indications, predicted that President Chung Hee Park will be returned to office by the election and that the ruling Democratic Republican Party (DRP) will retain a substantial majority in the National Assembly.

The ruling party, which has completed by the end of this year its pre-election checking of 131 district chapters and other field organizations, is confident that it will win the presidential election in a great landslide.

It is on the DRP schedule that the party will nominate President Chung Hee Park as its presidential candidate in a national convention late this month or early February and then will start barnstorming the country in mid-February.

President Park is not likely to participate in the barnstorming tours at the beginning. The first stage of nationwide canvassing will be made mainly by DRP Chairman Rep. Jong-pil Kim and other party leaders surrounding President Park.

The ruling party aims not simply to win the presidential election but to secure the biggest mandate for President Park by winning the election by an overwhelming margin.

DRP leaders have unhappy reminiscences of the previous election of 1963 in which President Park scored a victory over opposition candidate Po-sun Yun by a needle-thin margin.

In the presidential election held Oct. 15, 1963, the vote was:

Chung Hee Park (DRP)
4,702,640 42.6%

Po-sun Yun (Minjong)	4,546,614	41.2
Jae-yong Oh (Chupung)	408,660	3.7
Yong-tae Pyun (Chongmin)	224,443	2.1
I-uk Chang (Sinhung)	198,837	1.7
Invalid	954,977	8.7

If the opposition parties had succeeded in forming a united front against Park, the latter would have been defeated by Yun.

The result of the election led the opposition parties to move for a grand union and they actually succeeded in uniting themselves when the Minjung Party was inaugurated in June, 1965.

But the honeymooning of opposition politicians did not last long because the so-called hard-line members led by Po-sun Yun bolted the Minjung Party over differences concerning the ratification of the ROK-Japan amity treaty in August, 1965, and then established their own Sinhan Party in March last year.

Another political leader Min-ho Suh who also quit the Minjung Party together with Yun's group, formed a progressive party named the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) advocating as its platform "a middle road between capitalism and communism."

The three opposition parties — Minjung, Sinhan and DSP — have already nominated their own presidential candidates and are now competing with one another.

The political experts who view the reelection of President Park as "taken for granted," base their estimates mainly on this multiplication of opposition parties and the opposition tendency toward division just as in the previous election.

In addition, it is admitted that President Park and his Democratic Republican Party (DRP) have secured a stable supporting population since taking office three years ago.

President Park and his government have succeeded in overcoming various political crises and at last stabilizing the nation's politics and have accomplished an annual economic growth rate of 8.1 per cent through energetic implementation of the first five-year economic development plan.

President Park also merits praise for his success in considerably enhancing the in-



Kore

GENERAL ELECTIONS — Young and wait in an orderly queue their turn to exercise the right to vote in the National Assembly election Nov. 26, 1963. The people will elect a new parliament in April and May this year.

ternational status of the country through his overseas travels, the establishment of normal relations with Japan and the deployment of Korean troops to the Republic of Vietnam.

As Dr. Chin-o Yu, presidential candidate of the Minjung Party, admitted in an interview with The Korea Herald the other day, nobody can deny that President Park has done "considerably" for the development and modernization of the country during his last three-year tenure.

The hottest political issues of President Park's administration were the conclusion of the ROK-Japan rapprochement treaty, the dispatch of troops to Vietnam and the preferential treatment of large business firms.

It is apparent that these issues will also become election issues this year but it is doubtful how much they will appeal to the people.

The doubt comes partly from the fact that the Minjung Party, strongest of the opposition groups, is taking a "dubious attitude" toward the questions: at first, the party severely attacked the government in regard to them but now it acknowledges them as accomplished facts, only warning against possible adverse by-products of them.

Therefore, challenges to President Park are likely to come from other issues, probably what the opposition parties denounce as unprecedentedly widespread corruption and irregularities involving the ruling power, the decline of medium in-

dustries and that of farmers.

Dr. Yu, Minjung nominee, storming in after his campaign, has a bid for the average people that his party "the mass economic balanced development will bring of

He charged the present government and have been aggressive and become organized.

Sinhan presidential nominee Yun, with a tone, also attack government on the corruption and economic deprivation of

Meanwhile, the Democratic Socialist Party is expected to fore the unified country as a to sue.

President Park his biggest challenge when the opposition succeed in forming a front to oppose the election.

At present, no indications are prospect for the very dim despite efforts by the commission for presidential candidate

Political that the ir of the opr year is DRP electic rather con

First Hoisted in 1882

Korea Herald - Nov. 18, 1965

English Captain Aids Koreans To Design Flag

By KAP-SON YIM

It is a well known fact that the present Korean flag, Taegukki, was designed at the end of the Yi dynasty (1392—1910). But numerous discussions have taken place among Korean scholars as to who made the original flag and when it was raised for the first time, that is, until the research paper of Dr. Sun-keun Lee was made public.



Dr. Lee

The present Taegukki with the Taeguk (Great Ploarity) in the center and four Kweh (Divine Diagram) around the Taeguk, was formally adopted as the emblem representing the Republic of Korea on March 25, 1949, four years after the liberation from the Japanese.

Dr. Lee, a leading historian of Korean culture and former president of the Songgyungwan University asserts in his research paper that the design of the Taegukki was finally agreed upon in August, 1882, by a Korean mission on its way to Japan, and the brand new flag was raised on Aug. 14, 1882, for the first time over the Nishimura Hotel in Japan where the mission stayed.

At King Kojong's order, the use of the flag within and without the country was made known to the public on Jan. 27, 1883, Dr. Lee says.

On July 17, 1882, according to the lunar calendar, Korea had to sign the Chemulpo Treaty with Japan because of the Imo military revolt which began in June. In the revolt, Korean soldiers attacked the Japanese Legation, injuring and killing 10 Japanese and burned the legation building to the ground.

The then Japanese Minister to Korea, Hanabusa, said that besides the singing of the treaty, a Korean mission should be sent to Japan to apologize for the military revolt.

On Aug. 9, the Korean mission headed by Yong-hyo Pak (1861—1943) left the port of Inchon for Japan. The mission was composed of 13 members, most of whom were positive reformists and

later played leading roles in the reform movement of the country.

In presenting the memoirs of Yong-hyo Pak, Dr. Lee explains that the mission traveled on board a steamship, S. S. Meiji-Maru, which belonged to the Industrial Department of Japan, but whose captain was an Englishman named James.

At that time, Japan had bought steamships from western countries. Although the names of the ships were changed to Japanese, in most cases captains from western countries were still employed by their new owners. Because of the skill of the Japanese regarding steamships left much to be desired, Dr. Lee remarks.

Also on board the S. S. Meiji-Maru with the Korean mission was the Japanese Minister to Korea, Hanabusa, and British Minister to Korea, Aston.

During the trip, Captain James suggested to the head of the mission, Pak, that if the mission had the Korean national flag, he would raise it over the ship. But the mission did not have a flag and discussed ways and means for designing one immediately.

According to Pak's memoirs, Dr. Lee explains, the delegation had apparently discussed this problem before their departure and had taken with them the basic design of the Taeguk (Great Polarity) with eight Kweh (Divine Diagrams). They had also been empowered to change the design if necessary by the government, Dr. Lee says.

At first, they intended to ask for opinions from the British Minister, Aston, but they decided to accept the comments of Captain James who had seen many national flags from his long experience of travelling.

On seeing the Taeguk with eight Kweh (Divine Diagrams) Captain James commented that the eight divine diagrams around the Taeguk could not be distinguished distinctly from distance and could not be copied easily by foreigners.

Following the captain's advice, the delegation drew three kinds of designs of the Korean national flag, Taegukki varying in size. The

newly-drawn flag had the Taeguk in the center and four Kweh (Divine Diagrams) in the four corners of the white square field.

On their arrival at Kobe, Japan, on Aug. 9, 1882, they raised the Taegukki for the first time over the Nishimura Hotel.

They also allowed the representatives of the United Kingdom, the United States, Germany, and Japan copy their new flag.

On Aug. 22 of the same year, before the mission started for Tokyo, Pak, head of the mission, sent official letters to the Korean government together with a copy of the newly-designed Taegukki. In his letters he explained fully, not only the process of making the Taegukki, but also emphasized the necessity of a national flag for a sovereign state.

Pak also said, "When amity treaties are signed and delegation teams are dispatched, it is necessary for them to have their own national flags with them. It is so because when the ships of various delegations meet in a port, courtesy requires they greet one another by raising their national flags. Also when ministers of many countries gather in a certain place, the back of seats for them are shown with their national flags."

In another letter to King Kojong, Pak also explained, "Since you had allowed us to determine our national flag, we made three types of flags varying in size, sending the smallest one to you."

After they arrived at Tokyo, on Oct. 3 of that year, they invited representatives of various foreign countries to celebrate the Korean Queen's birthday. For the reception, they decorated the hall with the Taeguk flags and back of the seats of the representatives were shown with the national flags of the guests.

On Jan. 27, of the next year, the Korean government proclaimed the cause and purpose of the national flag and ordered the nation to use the flag thereafter.

Thus, the Korean national flag was first designed and was the Korean national symbol until 1910, when Korea was forcibly annexed to Japan.

Briquette Stoves

Deadly

By JANG-SOK CHOE

When the Old Man Winter marches in, he not only brings with him bitter cold but entails or causes, directly and indirectly, among many other things, the poisoning of many human beings by deadly anthracite briquette gas.

Losing lives by the gas is a routine, matter-of-fact occurrence each year, but there seems to be no decisive "killer" of the gas itself.

So far this year in Seoul alone, about 500 persons suffered from anthracite gas poisoning, of which more than 80 lost their lives, according to police statistics. The figure could go up if anthracite gas victims of the entire nation are taken into account.

According to the statistics 63 per cent were poisoned by gas leaking into rooms through cracks on the edge of ondol rooms, 20 per cent by gas penetrating from fuel holes, 10 per cent by gas from low chimneys, 7 per cent by gas leaking from stoves.

The anthracite briquette is the major fuel of the Korean homes these days, not only of the urban homes, but of a considerable number of rural homes as well.

Relatively low priced (8.50 won for a 19-hole briquette) and easy to handle, the anthracite briquette has long become an inevitable fuel to heat Korean homes. Other types of briquettes besides the 19-hole briquette are 31-hole, 49-hole, and 81-hole briquettes.

However, the gas emitting from a burning anthracite briquette is fatally deadly, when one is over exposed to it, and there still is no scientific or chemical means known to free the burning briquette from the gas whose chemical symbol is CO, or carbon monoxide.

Study and experiments are being conducted at such public institutes as the National Industrial Research Institute and the Research Center of the Dai Han Coal Corp. No concrete results have been made yet by them, however.

According to the researchers, one of the ways to get rid off CO gas is to burn the deadly gas completely. It is combustible under intense

Winning for Animal Means Escape

Wily Game

With

very vital time
major issues affecting the
Western world are being
thrashed out with France,
at De Gaulle's behest, playing
part it is closely with
Moscow which has adopted a
policy of militant opposition to
any West German nuclear role.

decisions are ex-
pected to come from the Couve-
norsky talks but there is little
doubt that it will signify the
steady "rapprochement" of
France and the Soviet Union.

Crusading Journalism -- (4)

Reformist Papers Spread

The following is the fourth part of a series of articles on the reform movement in the Korean press.—ED.

By James Wade

The inevitable end of the Independent came when the paper reported rumors of an impending forced sale of the southern port of Masan to Russia. This added another empire to the list of So's opponents. It is said that the Russian ambassador to the United States approached President Theodore Roosevelt directly to exert pressure for the recall of So. The fiery Korean editor's government subsidy was cut off and his position in Seoul became untenable. In 1898 he left Korea to practice medicine in Philadelphia, returning only once for a visit to Korea in the late 1940's, shortly before his death.

The two pioneering papers so far discussed may be considered to embody the Young Progressives movement. With the stimulus of The Independent which, though largely suspended with the departure of So, continued in an English edition under the missionary Henry Appenzeller until 1899, many additional papers sprang up. These may be regarded as belonging to the period of Japanese encroachment, and we will examine here only three of the more important journals.

'Royal City Daily'

The Hwangsong Shinmun, or Royal City Daily, was founded in 1897 by Chang Chi-yon. It consisted of four pages and was issued twice weekly, becoming a daily in 1898. This was perhaps the most influential among a number of early papers having a Protestant Christian orientation. These included the Korean Christian Review (Chosun Hoibo) of Henry Appenzeller, the Christian Messenger (Christ Shinmun) of H.G. Underwood, and even the Taehan Shinbo of a Japanese Christian missionary society.

The Hwangsong Shinmun had

a rather literary tone, as most of its writers were scholars of classical Chinese. Its policy embraced the advocacy of Westernization, and exposure of the stealthy extension of Japanese influence, exemplified by this report from an early issue: "Of late, Japanese merchants in Chingogae, in dealing with Koreans, instead of referring disputes to the law courts when such arise between them, which is fair and honest, beat them up with force, and take them to their own police station, where the Koreans are imprisoned for weeks and are most grievously handled, according to reports. This kind of barbarity is neither good for the friendship between the two countries, nor becoming to a country that has awakened earlier than ours. The practice is most regrettable, and we urge the authorities concerned to act always according to the laws of the nation."

Dramatic Demise

The paper had a rather dramatic demise. In 1904, when the Protectorate Treaty of Japan over Korea was signed, Hwangsong Shinmun published a front-page editorial entitled: "This Day We Weep." In order to escape Japanese censorship, which had already been instituted earlier that year under the pretext of military security during the Russo-Japanese War, the paper was distributed very early on the morning of November 21. It reached its readers, but Publisher Chang was arrested and the Hwangsong Shinmun disappeared forever from public view.

It was not until 1907 that the Japanese forced the promulgation of newspaper regulations justifying the de facto censorship that had been going on for three years. Their sensitivity to the influence of the Korean press is explained by these remarks by a Japanese commentator: "The people considered the newspaper as a kind of protest against the ruler. The small

papers spread throughout country, not only in the capital but in its adjacent areas. After a subscriber read them, he sent them to his neighbors in the village, and sometimes one copy had 200 readers. At that time, people did not have adequate economic means, and transportation facilities for distant localities were lacking."

The second influential paper of this era was the Maeil Shinmun, which first appeared in 1898. It was published under several names, which has led some commentators to ascribe to it a much shorter life span than was actually the case. Not counting numerous suspensions and deletions, it appeared under various headings until the final press blackout in 1910.

Rheevision of History

The Maeil Shinmun was always closely associated with the pioneering Paijai Mission School, and certainly the young Syngman Rhee had much to do with the paper in its early days. However, it seems an exaggeration on the part of Rhee's biographer Richard S. Allen when he writes: "Rhee with other students bought a press and began his own newspaper in 1896 (sic)." It is true, however, that Rhee wrote many of the early editorials in this all-hangul publication. After his arrest in 1898, it is said that he continued to smuggle articles from jail which were published anonymously in Maeil Shinmun; and that these gained the sympathy of Lady Um, consort to the king, who learned the identity of the author and was instrumental in gaining him lenient treatment in prison.

When Korea signed a treaty with Japan in 1904 giving the latter the right to advise on political administration, as a preliminary to the actual Protectorate Treaty late next year, the Maeil Shinmun protested forthrightly: "The right to advise is, after all, the first step of aggression."

(To Be Continued)

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anyone else, in-
Paternalism fostered by
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ter World War II.

Crusading Journalism -- (5)

Briton Sparks Spunky Paper

The following is the fifth
part of a series of articles on
the reform movement in the
Korean press. —ED.

By James Wade

It was in this period that
the long history of persecution
of misprints began. When a
paper called Cheguk Shinmun
attempted to print the phrase
"mansei," or long life to the
king, it came out "mangsei,"
or perdition. The president of
the paper was arrested.

The case of the Taehan Mae-
il Shinmun, established in 1965,
shows certain parallels with
that of The Independent of the
preceding decade. Both papers
escaped censorship and fend-
ed off persecution due to the
fact that their proprietors
were foreign nationals; both
became so influential and dan-
gerous to the Japanese over-
lords that elaborate efforts
were made to get them out
of the way. And in both cases,
unfortunately, such efforts
were at last successful.

The Taehan Maeil Shinbo
was registered under the name
of Ernest J. Bethel, a British
journalist in Seoul who had
become sympathetic to the
cause of Korean independence.
Yang Ki-tak was its Korean
editor. The paper first appear-
ed in mixed Chinese and han-
gul; but its phenomenal suc-
cess, reaching a record peak
circulation of 16,000, permit-
ted the establishment of sepa-
rate all-hangul and English
editions. These papers stood
at the forefront of the anti-
Japanese movement, setting
the pace for their contempo-
raries which, however, did not
dare to go to the lengths per-
missible for the foreign-regis-
tered Taehan Maeil Shinbo.

"So keen, vigorous, and in-
fluential was this daily in voic-
ing Korean protest against
Japanese domination that the
Japanese governor-general,"
Hirobumi Ito, stated:

"The power of newspapers
in Korea is extraordinary. One
sentence by them moves the
Koreans more effectively than
a hundred words of Ito. Be-
sides, a foreigner is publishing
the Taehan Maeil Shinbo and
continually agitating the Ko-
reans by exposing various
proven instances of Japanese
mis-government, for which the
resident-general must be res-
ponsible...."

The paper was, of course,
harassed in every possible
way by the police, and Bethel
once put a sign on the door
stating: "No Japanese Al-
lowed."

But, inevitably, the hand-
writing was on the wall. "No
matter how tenaciously Ko-
rea's patriots and friends
might struggle on her behalf,
it appears in retrospect that
the political situation had long
been hopeless. Mr. Lew Chi-
ho, in his perceptive thesis
on the Korean press, suggests
that the crucial period in Ko-
rea's political history during
this era fell roughly between
the years 1888-1896, when
there was not a single news-
paper in the entire country
to inform, guide, and rally
progressive, patriotic opinion.

Thus the press revival from
1896 to 1905, vigorous and even
heroic though it seems, was
foredoomed to failure. The cru-
cial events were occurring
outside the country, where Ja-
panese military and diploma-
tic successes, climaxed per-
haps by the Portsmouth Peace
Conference, were winning gra-
dual acquiescence from the
Great Powers in accepting the

island empire's broadened
sphere of influence, including
hegemony over Korea.

Assured of support—or indif-
ference—abroad, the Japanese
net began to close around
Ernest Bethel and the crusad-
ing Taehan Maeil Shinbo. On
April 17, 1908, the paper fea-
tured a story of the assassina-
tion in San Francisco of the
vacationing American advisor
to the Japanese resident-gen-
eral by Korean patriots. Bethel
was accused of disturbing or-
der and inciting unrest with
a view to encouraging hostil-
ities between the Korean gov-
ernment and people, on the
basis of this and two other
articles.

The complaint was lodged
with the British legation,
which invited a judge from
Shanghai to come to Seoul to
conduct formal appellate court
proceedings, held in the Bri-
tish consulate in Chong-dong,
Seoul, on June 15, 1908. Bethel
was found guilty and sentenc-
ed to a three week jail term,
which he served in Shanghai.

After his imprisonment, the
determined Briton returned
to Seoul, stating: "My fight for
Korea is heaven-ordained. I
will work, regardless of my
personal safety."

However, perhaps in part
due to the great pressures un-
der which he had been plac-
ed, Bethel was by now drink-
ing excessively, and fell ill in
early February, 1909. He died
of complications on May 1, at
the age of 38. Quite appro-
priately, Korean press circles
last year set up a monument
to mark the grave of this
doughty fighter for Korean in-
dependence in the Seoul For-
eign Cemetery.

(To Be Continued)

June News - Nov. 6, 1965

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It is true that the lad had
performed creditably and had
gained the admiration of all,
not only for his speaking abili-
ty and choice of subject, but
also because he had not allow-
ed a physical handicap to limit
the normal range of his activi-

Pr
say, "Ke
ready mak
to Korea, and some
be recognized."

The writer is the wife of
the director of the Amputee
Rehabilitation Center at
Yonsei Medical Center.

Crusading Journalism -- (6)

Press Suffers Under Japan

The following is the sixth part of a series of articles on the reform movement in the Korean press. —ED.

By James Wade

The unexpected death of Bethel left his newspaper a helpless prey to the Japanese authorities. The governor-general had for some years been ursuing a policy of subsidizing rival papers, which in effect became covertly pro-Japanese organs, for the purpose of confusing and splitting Korean public opinion. The relative failure of this policy made him more than ever determined to gain outright possession of that festering thorn in his side, the Taehan Maeil Shinbo.

Even before Bethel's death, the government had begun persecution of Yang Ki-tak, his Korean lieutenant, accusing him of bond issue embezzlement. The courts threw out the case, however. With Bethel out of the way, the paper came under the management of his secretary, a Mr. Manham, who was made of no such stern stuff as his erstwhile employer. Under pressure, he was persuaded to sell the paper's copyright to the resident-general's office, and to leave the country in June, 1910.

The Japanese had won, and as if to emphasize their victory, they made the captive Taehan Maeil Shinbo (dropping the first word of its name) their principal official organ

for a number of years. With the signing of the Annexation Treaty on Aug. 10, 1910, they were able to suppress under one pretext or another all the remaining independent papers, leaving only approved Japanese and pro-Japanese publications. This state of affairs continued for some ten years.

The Mansei uprising, or peaceful demonstrations staged by Koreans on March 1, 1919, left the Japanese in a quandary. Signs of discontent were so widespread in Korea, and outrage at Japanese brutality in retaliation so strong in certain quarters abroad, that at least some superficial reforms in the colonial administration seemed called for.

The first ten years of the occupation had been largely administered by the military, which could thus be made to serve as a scapegoat—though this would not have been possible a few years later. Accordingly, a new civilian-dominated administration was appointed by Tokyo, with the civil police as the organ of coercion or enforcement.

Actually, this made little difference; and in effect it marked the beginning of an even more insidious Japanese policy, that of cultural assimilation, under which eventually Korean history, customs, language, and even names were to be gradually prohibited in favor of their Japanese counterparts. This movement, if successful, would have presaged the death of the spirit ra-

ther than that of the body.

But the usurpers had not reckoned with the tenacity of their intended victims, a border people who for many centuries had had to withstand direct and indirect incursions of vaster and more ancient civilizations than Japan had to offer. And they made a singularly obtuse error in permitting the Korean language press to resume during this period.

The plan was to license a strictly limited and stringently censored press, government control over which would be tight enough to prevent any serious opposition from gaining expression. As a matter of fact, there was trouble from almost the very beginning.

At first, only three papers were to be permitted, carefully selected for balance of viewpoints, to serve as a window-dressing to the outside world. These papers, all originating in 1920, were the Dong-A Ilbo, with an avowedly nationalist outlook; the Chosun Ilbo, originally mildly pro-Japanese; and the Sisa Shinmun, an outspoken organ of pan-Japanism, which quickly failed as a commercial venture. In the middle 1920's the Chosun Ilbo was reorganized as a nationalist paper, and began a brief flirtation with Socialist leanings that proved disastrous. In 1925 came the Sidae Ilbo, which stood against the Socialist trends of the day.

(To Be Continued)

the basic needs is
Negro as well educat-
possible in the quickest
time so that he can
more and more responsi-

ways and
At night they... and
all you have to do is shoot
them between the eyes. You
can't miss." He took the ad-
vice and started off for the

available.
The writer is the Direc-
tor General of the Foreign
Service Institute, Ministry
of Foreign Affairs.

Propagating Journalism -- (7)

Japanese Censorship Harsh

The following is the seventh part of a series of articles on the reform movement in the Korean press.—ED.

By James Wade

It is not the purpose of this account to trace the vicissitudes of these or later papers during the following twenty years: their management and economic difficulties, and their adherence to this or that faction of the underground or exiled independence movement. It is sufficient for our purposes to emphasize the tenacity with which the journalists fought what seemed at the time to be a losing, and eventually lost, battle.

As Prof. Choe Chun writes: "Because of the Japanese monopoly in the fields of politics and business, many Koreans in those years took great pride in investing their wealth and talent in the newspaper or magazine publishing business. Fatal blows such as confiscation or suspension of publication were dealt the

newspapers frequently. Although they were sure to lose, investors continued to support newspapers despite the enormous financial requirement... It is especially significant that publishers were well aware of the difficulties of managing a newspaper. They continued to invest anyway....

"Due to strict censorship on reporting of political activities, they focused more or less on the advancement of social life and culture.... Thus, the newspapers served to enhance the spiritual modernization of the Korean people under the Japanese colonialism."

That Korean papers never gave up the attempt to comment on political matters is, however, amply documented by statistics on their suppression. The *Dong-A Ilbo* alone in twenty years was confiscated 489 times, sale was banned on 63 occasions, and it was censored 2,423 times. Confiscation averaged 15 times a month between 1920 and 1923. The paper was suspended indefinitely four times, these

bans ranging from a few weeks to a number of months. In addition, the arrest, imprisonment, and torture of reporters, editorial staff members, and even executives of all papers was a frequent happening.

The triviality of the Japanese censorship is illustrated by this episode, recounted by Mr. Lew Chi-ho: "A Christian missionary weekly, the *Christian Messenger*, in 1920 produced an editorial leader on Spring. It was the usual semi-poetic outpouring... how fine was the rebirth of the year when all things are again new and fresh and green, and men are heartened anew thereby, Japanese officials censored it, saying that the editorial was suggestive of a revolt against Japan."

The *Dong-A Ilbo*, in its inaugural issue, put forward a challenge that must have seemed revolutionary in its time, for it spoke confidently of a future that was scarcely in sight:

"... The 20 million people of Korea, in this rose-of-Sharon-decorated corner of Asia, are now to behold a new light and breathe a new air. Truly, we are alive again now. We have been resurrected. Devoting our entire energy to our goal, let us march forward. Our goal is none other than freedom and progress."

As a part of its campaign for "freedom and progress," the paper in the same year began an attack against antiquated Confucianism, leading off with an editorial entitled: "Knock the Heads of Falsely Learned Persons." This enraged the strict Confucianists, who attempted a boycott of the paper.

Only a few months later, though, the editors were at it again, this time with an article ostensibly attacking idolatrous superstitions, but also rather obviously poking fun at the sacred objects of the Shinto religion. This resulted in the first indefinite suspension of the paper, which lasted over three months.

(To Be Continued)

LETTERS to the Editor

Sex and Sympathy

Dear Sir:

I am writing to tell you how much I enjoyed the "Thoughts of the Times" article by Mr. Stickler in the October 8 edition of *The Korea Times*.

I have spent 5½ years in Japan and this is my second tour of duty in Korea. I share his ideas on the de-feminization of American women. I was previously married to one of these man-creatures for many unhappy years. I am currently single, but if I ever decide to marry again, I assure you it will be to an Oriental girl. It is my personal opinion that if a man meets and marries the Oriental girl of his choice (not a professional prostitute), his

matrimonial life will be one of continuing harmonious fulfillment.

Mr. Stickler has hit the nail squarely on the head in his article. Congratulations on an astute and absorbing analysis.

Sincerely,
"An Air Force Man Who Speaks From Experience"

Dis-encouragement

Dear Sir:

The encouragement prize presented to the blind orator (Mrs. Steensma's "Thoughts," Nov. 7) is in fact a discouragement prize for him as well as all rehabilitation workers.

Let it be clearly understood that the physically handicapped do not suffer from lack of ability but from lack of understanding by society which fails to make good use of these abilities.

Sincerely,
Kim Young-hyuk
KCWS Rehabilitation Center
Seoul

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... month
... or 2.8 million persons
... the lowest level in eight
... years.

Arthur M. Ross, the new
commissioner of the Bureau of
Labor Statistics, said:

"My personal view is that
it will be in the national inter-
est to keep on going below
4 per cent."

Ross said getting the job-

ment.
What has all this to do with
prices?

Some government econom-
ists believe the drive toward
full employment will create a
highly competitive labor mar-
ket, bidding up wages and thus
raising prices.

Others, however, say the

maintenance
pairs, laundry and n.

Ross agreed the prob-
labor shortages and price
flation bear watching.

But until danger signals be-
gin showing up in the econ-
omy, "we are not in a posi-
tion to know just how far down
it (unemployment) can be
driven," Ross said.

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This, observers
explains why Red
placed Thailand o
list of countries t
taken over.

Crusading Journalism--(8)

Chapter of Rebellion Opens

The following is the eighth
part of a series of articles on
the reform movement in the
Korean press.—ED.

By James Wade

In 1922, a new government
tactic was initiated, that of
broadening the number of pa-
pers to be licensed, but impos-
ing an even stricter censor-
ship.

The Dong-A Ilbo commented
that this was like "offering food
and taking away the spoon to
eat it with."

A dispute over a tenant farm-
ers' movement erupted in
1924. It started with the arrest
of five farmer and labor lead-
ers of Sunchon-gun, Cholla-nam-
do, by Japanese police on
March 13, 1924, under a false
accusation of thievery. All the
youth groups in the area held
a public rally denouncing the
police action, and demanded a
formal apology from the police.

The Dong-A Ilbo said in an
editorial: "Unparalleled brutal-
ity, indiscriminate torture, and
trampling of human rights by
the colonial police are now a
daily occurrence. They seem to
be made such that if they don't
indulge in such atrocities, they
itch. Such police forces exist
only in Korea, and they are
ubiquitous in this country. Be-
sides, they boast a 15-year his-
tory of inhuman activities. How
many innocent citizens of this
land must have suffered and
shed silent tears during those
fifteen years!... The so-called
authorities may interpret resis-
tance as an evil, and continue
to oppress the people. How-
ever, sinful are those who drive
the people to resist, not those
who rise up against oppres-
sion."

In the same year, the presi-
dent and executive editor of
the paper were beaten and
threatened with a pistol by pro-
Japanese functionaries after
publication of an article criti-
cal of Korean collaborators
with the Japanese.

The Chosun Ilbo, on the
other hand, got into difficulties
due to its espousal of the new-
ly-introduced Socialist move-
ment. An editorial published on

Sept. 23, 1925, said in part:

"Korea has reached a break-
ing point both politically and
economically, and a break-
through of the present situa-
tion is urgent. The shortest road
to achieve this is to abolish im-
perialism in the political sphere
and capitalism in the economic
field, and bring in other reason-
able systems. The movement
must be put forth in line with
the world-wide revolutionary
work initiated by Russia...."

The paper was suspended,
and only after a purge of 17
staff members did it reopen un-
der a more strictly nationalistic
policy. Thereafter it gained
increased popularity with the
addition of a crude but effec-
tive comic strip called "The
Fool," which satirized current
topics, a new form of journal-
ism in Korea, since then wide-
ly used.

Around this time, the resent-
ment of the police toward the
newspapers was so strong that
the Tongdaemun Police Station
placed a sign on the door read-

ing: "No Dogs Or Reporters
Allowed." Press pressure was
such that the police were forced
to remove the sign and apolo-
gize.

Japanese sensitivity toward
leftist movements in Korea was
so marked that in 1925 the
Dong-A Ilbo was suspended for
carrying a congratulatory tele-
gram from a Soviet farm as-
sociation on the occasion of the
anniversary of the Sam Il Move-
ment. Again in 1930, the same
paper suffered its third indefi-
nite suspension merely for
carrying a congratulatory an-
niversary wire from the editor
of The Nation, an American
magazine. The gist of this mes-
sage was: "Under the present
circumstances of Korea, the
mission of your paper is great."
This is so innocuous that the
only possible objection would
seem to be that at this period
The Nation was a left-leaning
and Communist-sympathizing
publication.

(To Be Concluded)

Life Beneath Antarctic

By Thomas R. Henry

WASHINGTON (NANA) —A
program of extensive submarine
exploration underneath the An-
tarctic icecap has been started.

This has just been announced
through the U.S. Antarctic Pro-
jects Office. Dr. Jacques S.
Zaneveld of Old Dominion Col-
lege, Norfolk, Va., spent most
of last winter (the Antarctic
"summer") exploring under the
ice at accessible points along
the 350-miles western coast of
the Ross Sea. He was assisted
by two students, James M. Cur-
tis and Jack Fletcher.

The divers wore black rubber
frogman "wet" suits, while div-
ing. After a few minutes the
water would warm enough from
the heat of their bodies to en-
able them to work as long as
45 minutes under the ice.

Dr. Zaneveld hopes to discover
what kinds of sea weeds grow in
the region, as well as their

growing seasons. The major
finding to date is that large
beds of seaweed can grow under
several feet of ice where very
little light penetrates.

Most of the time the divers
went under the ice two or three
times a day.

Says Curtis: "A typical Ice
view shows very clear blue wa-
ter pierced by a shaft of light.
Red sea weed grows abundantly
on the sloping rocky bottom.
Sponges nearly four feet across
cover the lower depths which
quickly fade into blackness.
Five-foot-long worms seem
common."

The dives often were made
through Weddell seal breathing
holes. Light is able to get
through in spots, so that ice a
diver looks through sometimes
resembles a starry sky. The
scientists have already assem-
bled the largest collection of
Antarctic life now in this coun-
try.

LETT
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From With

Dear Sir:

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Korea Times Photo

Korean officials and foreign technicians pose on a field near In chon during a ground-breaking ceremony for the nation's first railway between Noryangjin and Chemulpo on March 29, 1897. The line was opened on Sept. 18, 1899.

81 Yrs After Rail Service Begins

Four-Track Line Due

Just 81 years after railway service began in Korea between Seoul and Incheon in 1899, the Korean National Railroad (KNR) now plans to dedicate the nation's first four-track line between Seoul and Suwon at the end of November.

The Noryangjin-Chemulpo (currently Seoul-Incheon) line was built by the Japanese on Sept. 18, 1899.

In its dawning stage, the nation's railways stretched only 33 kilometers with eight stations. There were four steam locomotives, six passenger coaches and 28 freight coaches.

By the time of the national liberation in 1945, the railway service was extended to 3,938 kilometers with 300 stations, operating 517 steam locomotives, 1,390 passenger coaches and 9,389 cargo coaches throughout the country (including north Korea).

Currently, the railway net-

work stretches as long as 5,860 kilometers with 587 stations in the southern half of the peninsula alone. The KNR now keeps 914 locomotives including 212 electromotive trains, 1,822 passenger coaches and 16,876 cargo coaches.

The Tongil express passenger train was first put into operation on the Seoul-Pusan line on Aug. 15, 1955, to cover the line in nine hours. Three years later, the Mugunghwa express train shortened the time to six hours and 40 minutes.

The Seoul-Pusan line was covered in six hours and 10 minutes by the now-defunct express Chaegon (Reconstruction) in 1962, in five hours and 45 minutes by Maengho in 1966, and in four hours and 50 minutes by super-express Saemaul in 1969.

The Chungang line between Chongryangni and Chechon was electrified in 1973, follow-

ed by the electrification of all railway lines in the capital city area, such as Seoul-Suwon, Seoul-Incheon and Yongsan-Songbuk, on Aug. 15, 1974.

The railway section between Taejon and Iri (88.6 kilometers) on the Honam (Seoul-Mokpo) line had its tracks doubled in 1978. The government now plans to speed up a project doubling the tracks on the entire Honam line.

On the 80th anniversary of the railway's foundation last year, the KNR put a locally produced diesel locomotive into operation for the first time in its history.

The KNR has experienced many tragic accidents during the past 81 years. One of the worst accidents was the explosion of a dynamite train at Iri station on Nov. 11, 1977, in which 59 people were killed and the station building was completely destroyed.

KOREA

The Country, - past and present packed into one generation ASIA!

1. Culture, etc

The past - 4,000 years of civilization. Not quite.

But PY wall - built in day of Duro's Stream

The present - Today's 11-yr old boys 5" taller than those of 1965 (8/18/92) ^{in 10 yr. old girl from Spain 1965}

S.K. economy 10% growth rate.

One generation - from abject poverty & riots than Postwar ^{8/18/92} _{80 a year} ^{8/18/92} Summit

Chung Ju-yong - from manual labor in mines - world's largest shipyard (1977)

→ 1950 - GNP was going down the hole

→ 1984 - Korea's worst ever depression -

→ Bal of payments, probably in red - 1970 - after 4 yrs surplus.

→ farm output, rice - but less than others

S. Korea GNP per head 5,000, N.K. about 1,500. (p 20, Economist 8/18/92).

2 Religion & laws - Shamanism (all in the mountains almost)

Buddhism (from India through China - end of 4th c (370 AD))

Confucianism (from China 9th c - nearly replaced Buddhism keeping it out of 14th c)

Christianity (an upstart - but stamped + forced) RC. 1784

Prot. 1884.

3. Politics Yi dynasty 1392

Japanese 1894

Division

Coming & west - 1882. We fought in modern

war can move
General to be in
field farmers
Soviet to be in
English to be in

KOREA WEEK

ISSUE 216

VOLUME 10 NUMBER 6

APRIL 6, 1977

Test of U.S. Policy Withdrawal From S. Korea

U.S. FORCES IN KOREA

According to the Department of Defense, March 28, U.S. military strength in South Korea as of December 31, 1976 is as follows:

Army	32,276
Air Force	7,254
Navy, ashore	250
Marine Corps, ashore (*)	41
Total personnel, ashore	39,821

(*) Includes a detachment assigned to embassy security duties.

OFFENSIVE CAPABILITY

(a) On Dec. 30, 1976, The Christian Science Monitor reported from Tokyo: The Japanese reluctantly would agree to a withdrawal of American troops from South Korea, but they hope that withdrawal will be delayed as long as possible.

Behind this reluctance is an unspoken but strong, feeling that the American military presence helps as much to deter South Korean military actions against the North as it does to deter any North Korean invasion of the South.

(b) On March 24 the Carter administration submitted to the Congress a "Congressional Presentation" on FY 1978 security assistance program. The presentation said, in part:

In particular, modernization of the ROK Air Force is required to offset the current superiority of North Korea's air power. (*)

Although anticipated ROK arms purchases would provide some offensive capability, that capability would not confer a degree of superiority to make offensive action likely.

(*) Editor's Note:

The South Korean government said 21 persons were wounded by firing on Oct. 14, 1976 of anti-aircraft ground batteries in Seoul at a Northwest cargo jet which flew into restricted air space (i.e. over the Presidential residence).

The AFP reported from Seoul: "The unprecedentedly fierce gunbursts (also came from) the newly-introduced Vulcan guns, capable of unleashing 3,000 shells a minute."

(c) On March 25, Crocker Snow, Jr., of The Boston Globe reported from Seoul:

"It's outright irresponsible for us to pull out before gaining concessions from North Korea," says a U.S. military man who worries also about the end of U.S. command responsibility over the combative South Koreans.

"How many times can you hit a little guy before he hits back, perhaps by developing an independent nuclear capability?" asks a western diplomat, mindful of South Korea's growing sense of isolation.

As described in Washington, President Carter's pullout plan has nothing to do with human rights.

(d) On March 30, The Korea Herald said (editorial):

Any North Korean aggressive maneuvers against this country will be met with retaliatory blows from our country, and the results of such a reckless adventure by the north will be nothing but untold calamity and destruction.

WAR RESERVE STOCKPILE

In mid-January, the Department of Defense notified the Congress that it will increase the amount of conventional ground ammunition in the war reserve for

allies stockpile located in South Korea by approximately \$93,750,000 during FY 1977.

Korea is the only country to which the United States plans to deploy war reserve stockpiles in FY 1977.

PRESIDENT PARK

(a) On January 28, President Park inspected the Defense Ministry. Next day, The Korea Herald quoted Park as having told senior officers:

"In some fields, North Korea is superior to the Republic of Korea in terms of quantity. Even a few years ago, the nation's combat capabilities were far inferior to those of North Korea.

"However, we are about to enter a stage of surpassing North Korea."

(b) On March 16, Mr. Park told a meeting of the Cabinet and ruling party that President Carter's plan to withdraw U.S. troops was not in conflict with South Korea's aim of being self-reliant in defense by 1981.

KOREAN PROFESSORS

In February, The New York Times published two letters sent by Korean-born professors in the U.S.

(1) On February 4, Kwan Ha Yim of Manhattanville College, Purchase, N.Y., said:

President Park plans to compensate for American withdrawal by stepping up South Korean armament. Results are predictable: further militarization of Korean society, intensified repression of political dissent and human rights, and exacerbation of tension in North-South relations.

(2) On Feb. 14, Nack Young An of Georgia State Univ., Atlanta, commenting on the letter (1) said:

It seems much too cynical to make those invidious charges based on partial truth that the President's statement constitutes a prelude to the vitiation of democratic institutions in Korea.

OPPOSITION SPOKESMAN

Chul-seung Lee, 54, chairman (*) of the New Democratic Party, and a former president of the Asian Weightlifting Association, told a luncheon meeting at the Asia Society, New York City, March 7 that U.S. forces should remain in Korea for "at least 10" additional years.

(*) On March 26, The Washington Post reported from Seoul:

Members of South Korea's major opposition party are rebelling against their leader for being too closely associated with President Park.

AMBASSADOR TOGO

On March 10, Fumihiko Togo, ambassador of Japan, spoke at the Univ. of Virginia in Charlottesville. Togo said:

The Korean Peninsula is still under a divided rule, and no substantial progress toward unification is in sight.

It is a challenge to the great powers concerned -- the United States, China and the Soviet Union -- to encourage a reduction of tension between the North and the South, but in the current circumstances the United States presence there serves as a deterrent against the disruption of the precarious balance on the Peninsula.

KANSAS CITY TIMES

On March 19, K. Kenneth Paik of The Kansas City Times reported from Seoul:



Historical photo series: U.S. forces entering Chungju, South Korea, on September 28, 1950. (U.S. Army Signal Corps)

For many Koreans, GIs on their streets are as common as any fixture in their homes. The Americans have been here since 1945. They are a part of the Korean scene.

There are more than 1,700 (sic) American companies with operations, offices or agents in South Korea.

CBS EVENING NEWS

On March 21, CBS Evening News said: Walter Cronkite: As for the South Koreans, they are counting on Fukuda to assure Mr. Carter there is no human rights problem in South Korea.

Bruce Dunning (Seoul): There are about thirty-eight thousand American troops in South Korea; the largest and most visible unit is the Second Infantry Division.

In the view of some American military sources, it is the least essential element militarily, but an important element psychologically.

The Korean government is worried that a phase-down might frighten the foreign companies, primarily Japanese and American, which have invested millions in factories here.

CARTER-FUKUDA TALKS

On March 22, The Washington Post reported:

As U.S. and Japanese spokesmen described the talks, Fukuda made no effort to convince Carter to reverse his decision to withdraw U.S. ground troops from Korea over the next four or five years.

Japanese leaders have expressed public and private concern over the proposed U.S. action, but evidently decided it would be folly to argue a decision that already has been made.

PREMIER FUKUDA

(a) Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda addressed the National Press Club in Washington on March 22:

I realize the anxieties sometimes expressed that, following the bitter experience in Vietnam, the United States might turn its back on Asia.

I have no such fear, for I know that the United States, like Japan, is historically a Pacific nation.

Our two countries are linked in our destiny to the future vitality of this vast, populous, and potentially prosperous region.

(b) Mr. Fukuda's interview with the U.S. News & World Report before his U.S. visit and published on March 28:

Q. Has President Carter's proposal to withdraw American troops from South Korea increased Asian anxieties?

A. I think it is a major factor. That is why many Asian nations refer to the proposed U.S. pullout from the Republic of Korea in expressing their anxiety.

Q. Does this mean that Asian nations see the U.S. presence as helping to maintain stability?

A. Yes. In fact, they hope the United States will assure more clearly its willingness to maintain its presence in Asia. They all have asked me to convey this to President Carter.

U.S.-JAPAN COMMUNIQUE

Article 5 of the Carter-Fukuda joint communique issued in Washington March 22 contained the following:

The prime minister welcomed this affirmation by the United States and expressed his intention that Japan would further contribute to the stability and development of that region in various fields, including economic development. (*)

The prime minister and the president noted the continuing importance (*) of the maintenance of peace and stability on the Korean peninsula for the security of Japan and East Asia as a whole.

They agreed on the desirability of continued efforts to reduce tension on the Korean peninsula and strongly hoped for an early resumption of the dialogue between the south and north.

In connection with the intended withdrawal of U.S. ground forces in the Republic of Korea, the president stated that the United States, after consultations with the Republic of Korea and also with Japan would proceed in ways which would not endanger the peace on the peninsula. He affirmed that the United States remains committed to the defense of the Republic of Korea.

(*) On March 26, Izvestia reported from Tokyo: "This formulation is attracting commentators' attention because Japan has so far restricted its role in this region to economic relations alone."

(*) Editor's Note: In 1969, a joint communique of President Nixon and Japanese Prime Minister Sato quoted Sato as

(continued on page 2, column 2)

Commentary

WASHINGTON'S COUNSEL

George Washington's Farewell Address, September 17, 1796, contained the following timeless counsel (Titles by KW).

A. (Foreign influence-buying) :
 "(T)he spirit of party . . . opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

"(Concessions of privileges to the favorite nation) gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens who devote themselves to the favorite nation, facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity ; gliding with the appearances of virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base for foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation."

"As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot.

"How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils!

"Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, (I conjure you to believe me fellow citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake ; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government.

"Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious ; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests."

B. (Human rights) :
 "Observe good faith and justice towards all nations. It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel examples of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence."

C. (International commitments) :
 "(A) passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducements or justifications.

"The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible.

"It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliance with any portion of the foreign world ; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it ; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements."

D. (Foreign aid) :
 "(I)t is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another ; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character ; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more.

"There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon, real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard."

CONGRESSIONAL STATEMENTS (5)

(continued from KW #215)

(41) Sen. Charles H. Percy (R.-IL):

(i) On March 14, The Washington Post, "The Secretary of State sought to detect a distinction between our payments to Hussein and the Korean CIA's alleged financing of U.S. political figures."

(ii) On March 17, CR S4230:
 "Establishing plants in Taiwan and Korea does not help reduce our unemployment at home."

(42) Rep. Edward I. Koch (D.-N.Y.), on March 30, Congressional Record H 2769-70 :

The continuing repression by the Park government in the Republic of Korea, together with President Carter's outspoken support for the cause of human rights in all countries, brings the issue of U.S. involvement in Korea into the spotlight once again.

The United States is currently mired in a conflict between its defense interests and its historical dedications to the principles of democratic government, a conflict exacerbated by the Republic of Korea's flagrant disregard for these principles.

As a close friend and protector of the Republic of Korea for decades, the United States has a right and obligation to expect that country to do more to uphold basic principles of human rights.

While it can be argued that our military presence and support is vital to the preservation of peace in Korea, we must also question the nature of the peace we are preserving.

The Congress is being asked this year to grant the Republic of Korea \$275 million in foreign military sales credits and guarantees, \$4 million in grants under the military assistance program and another \$1.4 million for the U.S. sponsored international military education and training program.

In addition, the total amount of undeveloped military assistance program grant aid authorized in previous years now stands at more than \$100 million.

These figures, added to the request for more than \$111 million for economic aid under Public Law 480, give the Congress considerable leverage in its effort to encourage changes in the Republic of Korea's policies on human rights and democratic principles.

I believe Congress must show its determination to stop supporting dictatorial regimes with a blank check for military and economic aid.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE (cont'd)

saying that the security of South Korea is "essential to Japan's own security."

In 1975, President Ford and Prime Minister Miki had "agreed that the security of the Republic of Korea is essential to the maintenance of peace on the Korean Peninsula which in turn is necessary for peace and security in East Asia, including Japan."

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION

On March 29, the Department of Defense submitted to the Congress a Military Construction Authorization Bill for FY 1978 totaling \$3.6 billion (including \$27,518,000 at various locations in South Korea).

The Pentagon had requested \$13.6 million for military construction in South Korea for the current fiscal year.

On the same day, the Pentagon announced (not referring specifically to Korea) :

The objective of the proposed new construction is to strengthen and improve the combat readiness and capabilities of military land, sea, and air forces wherever they may be stationed and to provide them with the modern facilities required to support our personnel and the advanced weapons with which they are equipped.

RANDOM COMMENTS

(a) Art Buchwald, January 21 :
 As with every year, people said a lot of things in 1976 that they're sorry for. And of course the man (or was it a woman?) who said, "Mr. Congressman, this is Tongsun Park. He'd like to help finance your election campaign."

(b) What's the favorite leisure activity of President Park, 59, a widower? According to Keun-hae, his daughter, "Badminton is the game we play most often. Do you know something? Father is a very excellent sportsman. We can't beat him, even if I and my sister Keun-yong team up against him." (MBC-TV, Jan. 4)

Information

ALIEN EMPLOYMENT

The Department of Labor has issued final regulations governing the admission of Aliens for permanent employment in the United States.

Schedule A. This is the list of occupations for which the Labor Department has predetermined there are not sufficient U.S. workers who are able, willing, qualified and available, and that the employment of aliens in such occupations will not adversely affect the wages and working conditions of U.S. workers similarly employed.

Schedule A no longer includes performing artists, due to the high unemployment rate for U.S. workers in this field.

Also, the teaching professions mentioned under Schedule A have been limited to educators at the college and university levels -- based on discussions with the Congress concerning the intent of the 1976 amendments.

Schedule A now includes physical therapists with bachelor's degrees, aliens who will be engaged in the U.S. in managerial or executive positions with the same international corporations or organizations that currently employ them, and persons with a religious commitment who will work for nonprofit religious organizations.

The Labor Department also clarified the ruling concerning the requirement that professionals have a job offer before they may receive a labor certification.

The reasoning : it is very difficult to determine adequately the availability of U.S. workers without a job opportunity to which U.S. workers may be referred.

The Department, despite some objections, let stand the regulation that removes nurses from Schedule A, but provides that they may enter the U.S. as immigrants through the regular labor certification procedure.

KOREAN AIR LINES

The Korean Air Lines maintains one of the largest air fleets in Asia. As of March 1 it operates : 3 Boeing 747s (another to be added in 1977) ; 4 DC-10s ; 6 A-300s (French-made airbus) ; 4

(c) Art Buchwald, January 18 :

It is no secret that many of the people who will work with President Jimmy Carter have never been to Washington before.

I think someone should warn Carter appointees about a few of the things to beware of.

When someone offers you a free trip to South Korea and sticks a plain white envelope for expenses in your pocket, do some serious Seoul-searching before accepting it.

(d) The News World, January 27 :
 "Kim Il-sung's vicious regime paid the Washington Post \$50,000 and more during 1975 and 1976 (for the blatant and conscious advertising of tyranny).

"Yet any politician whose good nature allowed them to receive donations from South Korean sources is to be pilloried at the post."

(e) Media (Hong Kong) January 1977 :
 Jordan has banned explicit sex movies and "immoral and nonconstructive karate films" from public theatres, a government spokesman said.

"The karate films corrupt young men's morals and lead to crime, violence and bloody revenge, which contradict Arab and Islamic traditions," he said.

(f) President Park told Song-jung Lee, Minister of Justice, February 3 :

"Making irresponsible remarks by some people without considering the future of the country cannot lead the nation to freedom or democracy.

"This is true of some foreigners who do not exactly know the reality of our country but make irresponsible statements." (The Korea Herald, Feb. 4)

(g) Pacific Citizen, 125 Weller St., Los Angeles, Ca. 90012, reported from Washington, D.C., February 4 :

"The (recent) string of bad publicity for the Park regime has, indirectly, brought a degree of bad publicity to certain Korean Americans here."

Boeing 707s (another to be added in 1977) : 3 Boeing 727s, 2 Boeing 720s, 5 F27s, 1 YS-11, and 1 Cessna executive jet (for charter).

OVERSEAS INVESTMENTS

South Korea's direct overseas capital investments as of September 1976 amounts to \$44.2 million according to an official announcement.

Asia	\$33 million
North America	9 million
Other areas	2 million

Occupational distribution (partial):

Manufacturing	\$12.7 million
Logging	8.8 million
Construction	4.8 million
Trading	3.7 million
Fishing	1.2 million

CONGRESSIONAL VISITS/KOREA

Reports of various House committees and interparliamentary groups concerning the U.S.-owned Korean currency or U.S. dollars utilized by them and their employees in calendar year 1976 in connection with their visits to South Korea (in-Korea per diem and transportation only) are as follows (announced on March 22, Congressional Record H2421 - 47) :

- Committee on Agriculture
 - Rep. Otto E. Passman (D.-La.)
 January 6-8 : 72,282 won
 April 22-25 : 109,575 won
 - Donald E. Richbourg
 January 6-8 : 72,282 won
 - Hunter L. Spillan
 January 6-8 : 72,282 won
- Committee on Armed Services
 - Rep. Floyd D. Spence (R.-S.C.)
 November 12-13 : 35,000 won
 - Rep. Charles H. Wilson (D.-Ca.)
 Sept. 30- Oct. 7 : \$525.00
- Committee on International Relations
 - Robert K. Boyer
 November 8-11 : 108,000 won
 - V. Hyndman
 November 8-11 : 108,000 won
 - James Schollaert
 November 8-11 : 108,000 won
- Committee on Post Office and Civil Service
 - George Gould
 April 16-20 :
 (per diem) 180,653 won
 (transportation) 38,211 won
 - Rep. Charles H. Wilson (D.-Ca.)
 April 16-21 : 216,780 won

ASIANS JOB OPPORTUNITIES

Asians for Job Opportunities in Berkeley, Inc. is a U.S. Department of Labor sponsored vocational training and counseling program aiding Berkeley Asian residents seeking full-time and permanent employment.

The AJOB staff has chosen clerical business skills as the focus of the vocational training, because it feels that clerical competence teaches discipline, efficiency, neatness, language skills, knowledge of business procedures and systems, speed, accuracy, and awareness of business needs all qualities that are important and useful in any employment situation.

For more information, please contact :
 Asians for Job Opportunities in Berkeley, Inc.
 1617 University Avenue
 Berkeley, California 94703
 Tel : 415/548-6700

NEWS BRIEFS

The Korea Development Institute on March 8 recommended that the Seoul government build a 120-mph "bullet train" system between Seoul and Pusan at a cost of \$2 billion to reduce the traveling time between the two principal South Korean cities from four hours and 30 minutes to two hours and 10 minutes.

Korea's largest hotel opens in Seoul

The 540-room Seoul Plaza, the largest hotel in Korea, opened October 1 in the heart of Seoul, overlooking City Hall and the gardens of Duksoo Palace. All rooms have individual temperature controls and private baths with TV and refrigerators available. Rates are \$23, \$28 and \$31 single, \$28 to \$35 for rooms and doubles, \$50 for suites. The hotel has 100 suites and 1000 other suites. The hotel has restaurants offering French, American, Chinese and Japanese cuisine, a tea lounge, bar, banquet hall and private dining room, which can accommodate groups from 10 to 250. A shopping area is on the premises. Bookings: 23, 2-4a, Taepyeong-ro, Chonggyu, Seoul, Korea.

Business Finance

SOUTH KOREAN INCOME TAX

In 1977, the minimum taxable income of a standard taxpayer (self plus four dependents) in South Korea is \$180 per month. The highest rate is 31.8% for those who make over \$1,999 a month.

Monthly Income (in 1,000 won)	1976		1977		Reduction	
	Tax	Rate	Tax	Rate	Amount	Per-centage
80	₩800	1.0%			₩800	1.0
90	1,600	1.8	600	0.9	600	50
100	2,600	2.6	1,600	1.6	1,600	39.4
110	3,300	3.3	2,400	2.2	1,200	33.3
120	4,800	4.0	3,300	2.7	1,500	31.2
130	6,000	4.6	4,300	3.3	1,700	28.3
140	7,500	5.4	5,300	3.8	2,200	29.3
150	9,000	6.0	6,300	4.2	2,700	30.0
160	10,800	6.7	7,500	4.7	3,300	30.5
170	12,800	7.4	8,700	5.1	3,900	30.9
180	14,700	8.2	9,900	5.5	4,000	27.2
190	16,800	8.8	11,200	5.9	5,500	33.0
200	19,100	9.5	12,700	6.4	6,350	33.2
250	23,100	13.2	21,150	8.4	11,950	35.1
300	49,600	16.5	31,900	10.6	17,700	35.6
350	68,800	19.6	44,900	12.8	23,700	34.5
400	88,800	22.1	59,900	15.0	26,700	32.3
450	108,600	24.1	77,400	17.2	31,700	28.7
500	130,100	26.0	95,300	19.2	34,200	26.3
600	175,100	29.2	135,300	23.1	39,300	22.3
700	221,600	31.7	176,300	25.6	44,700	20.1
1,000	371,600	37.2	317,900	31.8	53,700	14.4

SOUTH KOREA EXERCISE TAX

Gasoline is the most highly taxed commodity (160%) in South Korea followed by five others taxed 100%. A Korean citizen must pay \$30 just to get into a casino.

Item	Rate (%)
Jewels (except those for industrial use)	100 (200)
Precious Metals	30 (30)
Fur, Fur Products	100 (200)
Slot Machine, Related Apparatus	100 (200)
Billiards, Golf Kits	100 (150)
Special Cosmetics Items	20 (20)
Refrigerator, Freezer	40 (65)
Air Conditioners, Related Products	40 (65)
Furniture (More Than 100,000 won a Piece)	40 (120)
Electric Washing Machines, Dryers	40 (65)
TV Sets	30 (45-60)
Record Players, Related Products	30 (55)
Gas-Using Apparatus	40 (65)
Automobiles	15-40 (115-40)
Coffees, Cokes	40 (50)
Sugar	30 (40)
Soft Drinks	20 (20)
Ice Cream, Related Products	20
Cotton, Cotton Products	30
Casinos	30 (40)
Gasoline	160 (300)
Diesel	10 (40)
Horse Racing	50 (20)
Tuition, Baha	100 (100)
Golf Courses	3,000 won
Casinos	15,000 won

Note: Parenthesized figures indicate the current rates. The golf course and casino figures are admission fees. The casino fee for foreigners will be 3,000 won.

TRAVEL TO NORTH KOREA

On March 25, Department of the Treasury announced that the Office of Foreign Assets Control has amended its regulations to authorize Americans who visit Cambodia, North Korea, North Vietnam, South Vietnam or Cuba to pay for their transportation and maintenance expenditures (meals, hotel bills, taxis, etc.) while in those countries.

In addition, visitors to those countries are authorized to import a maximum of \$100 worth of goods for their personal use and not for resale.

This allowance may be used only once every six months, and the goods must be brought back by the traveler in his baggage.

The amendments permit journalists, researchers, and news and documentary film makers who travel to the embargoed areas to import films, books and magazines, without limit as to cost.

Such publications must be directly related to their professional activities and cannot be resold.

Other amendments now permit foreign firms controlled by Americans to pay for travel expenses of their foreign national employees in Cambodia, North Korea, North Vietnam, South Vietnam and Cuba without specific Treasury approval.

Trade transactions continue to be restricted by the Foreign Assets Control Regulations (North Korea, North and South Vietnam and Cambodia) and by the Cuban Assets Control Regulations (Cuba).

FOREIGN CAPITAL NEEDS

The so-called Consultative Group on Development Assistance to the Republic of Korea (10 nations plus international lending institutions) met in Paris March 29-30 and issued an announcement:

It is estimated that disbursements of about \$2.5 billion of medium and long-term loans would be required annually during the next five years.

The delegates agreed that Korea required and deserved the continued support of the capital-exporting countries and international organizations in pursuing its development objectives.

Given the improvement in Korea's debt service situation that has already been achieved and the strong possibility that its export growth will remain satisfactory, the servicing of the substantial volume of borrowing that would be required should not pose a problem, but it is highly desirable that a significant proportion is from official and semi-official sources on more favorable terms than are generally available today from private financial sources.

KOREAN COTTON IMPORTS

"Cotton imports into South Korea, the leading market for U.S. cotton in 1975-76, may decline modestly in 1976-77 from the 1 million bales received last season. However, most of these cotton imports again will come from the U.S.," says the Foreign Agriculture, March 7.

"South Korean imports of raw cotton in the 1976-77 season (August-July) are projected at about 950,000 bales (480 lb net), with about 900,000 bales expected to come from the U.S. If this import level is realized, South Korea will probably be the second largest market -- behind Japan -- for U.S. raw cotton in 1976-77.

"Cotton consumption by Korean mills is expected to increase about 10 percent above the record 895,000 bales used in 1975-76.

"Korean cotton mills are reportedly operating near full capacity. "The spindleage target for December 1977 is 2,632,640, which would be about a 4 percent rise above the estimated spindleage at the end of calendar 1976. The number of cotton spindles in place as of August 1976 was 1,915,120 -- about 5 percent more than a year earlier.

"South Korea's cotton imports had ballooned in 1975-76. The country's total raw cotton imports that season were 1,025,000 bales -- with 1 million bales from the U.S., representing a sharp increase of about 40 percent above the 705,000 U.S. bales imported in 1974-75."

People in the News

AIR-CONDITIONED GRAVE, etc.

(a) On December 17, 1976, South Korea's official domestic radio system said (FBIS, December 22):

Pointing out the fact that among the well-to-do there have recently been those who have built luxurious homes or places for future burial resembling graves of kings and that these practices are arousing severe public criticism, President Park has directed the ministries concerned to intensify the enforcement of pertinent regulations or to strengthen the laws and regulations.

(b) On December 21, 1976, the state-owned Korea Herald said (editorial):

Needless to say the unrestrained life style of some rich people, many of them parvenus, is apt to erode the belt-tightening campaign the nation has been propelling, particularly since the 1973 energy crisis and the consequent economic recession.

(c) On January 2, The Washington Star reported:

The Gulf Oil Co. gave South Korean President Park Chung Hee \$200,000 to pay for his 1969 state visit to San Francisco, according to NBC News.

The payment, deposited in a Swiss bank account, was not used for that purpose, the network said, but was apparently turned over to Park's personal political apparatus along with \$3 million Gulf gave Park's top fund raiser the next year.

Gulf gave \$4 million to the ruling political party in South Korea over a 13-year period, according to the McCloy report, an internal study of Gulf's political contributions made public a year ago.

(d) On January 12, President Park told a "New Year press conference":

Until irregularities among public servants disappear, the government will pursue the cleanup drive as strongly as before.

I always emphasize that the most desirable result depends upon leadership that takes the initiative and sets an example for the general public.

We must discard the notion that one should be free from censure even if one squanders one's money away.

(e) The Korea Herald reported on January 14:

The Ministry of Home Affairs yesterday streamlined pertinent regulations to impose taxes on luxurious auxiliary facilities of private residences.

Under the new move, property and acquisition taxes will be levied on swimming pools, observation stands, elevators and escalators.

Other facilities subject to these taxes include power generators, oil tanks, boilers, switchboards, ventilators and warning systems against intruders.

(f) On January 15, The Korea Herald said:

A total of 39,132 cases of irregularities or wrongdoings involving government officials were uncovered last year, according to the Cabinet Office of Planning and Coordination.

(g) On February 12, South Korean authorities announced arrest of Rep. Byong-chol Hong, a member of President's Democratic Republican Party, on suspicion of having accepted \$80,000 from a local importer in return for promises to press the government to grant the importer a monopoly for the import of fertilizers.

Before becoming a legislator, Hong was a member of President Park's bodyguards.

Last year, Rep. Mun-bong Kang, a National Assembly (*) member nominated by President Park, was arrested on charges of accepting a \$68,000 bribe.

(*) Editor's Note: Effective January this year, a member of the National Assembly is paid \$2,478 (salary plus allowance) per month.

(h) The Korea Herald reported March 16:

According to a recent report from Kyonggi-do, largescale private tombs decorated with big monuments and expensive articles like those of ancient royal families total 47 in number.

One of the tombs, which was built in 1970, is equipped, surprisingly, with an air-conditioning system at an estimated 8 million won (about \$16,000).


Employment of scientists and engineers, by sex and race: 1974

Field	Sex				Total minor-ities	Blacks	Americans Indian	Asians	Other
	Total	Male	Female	White					
Total	11,662,000	1,566,000	96,000	1,581,000	79,000	10,000	11,600	13,000	151,000
Physical scientists	35,000	141,000	14,000	147,000	8,000	1,000	(1)	4,000	1,000
Mathematical scientists	45,000	38,000	7,000	42,000	3,000	1,500	(1)	1,600	170
Computer specialists	122,000	103,000	21,000	116,000	5,000	2,000	(1)	2,000	600
Environmental scientists	44,000	42,000	1,000	41,000	1,000	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
Engineers	999,000	991,000	5,000	991,000	29,000	0,000	(1)	20,000	6,000
Life scientists	136,000	118,000	10,000	129,000	7,000	1,000	(1)	2,000	2,000
Psychologists	61,000	41,000	15,000	57,000	4,000	1,000	(1)	2,000	500
Social scientists	100,000	87,000	13,000	86,000	14,000	10,000	500	2,000	2,000

¹ Less than 500.
Note: Detail may not add to totals because of rounding.
Source: National Science Foundation, Manpower Characteristics System.



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ASIAN STUDIES

EVERETT FRAZAR (Part III)

Editor's Note : Everett Frazar, who on April 3, 1884 became the first Consul General of Korea in New York, delivered a speech entitled "Korea, and her Relations to China, Japan and the U.S.," before the New England Society, at Music Hall in Orange, New Jersey, on Nov. 15, 1883. (Part II in KW #208)

One recent writer describes the Korean country as "being very picturesque, with wooded hills, green valleys, clear streams wild flowers, and fresh and invigorating climate; the people evidently well disposed and of a kindly turn of mind."

This writer also goes on to say : "It is certain that, in the material joys that can be given by English grey shirtings, American drills, brandy and kerosene oil, these people are really behind the age; whilst of joint stock companies in Perak, Arizona or Wall Street, New Perak, Arizona or Wall Street, New York, they have not yet one single thought.

I was somewhat surprised to learn from the Minister that the word "Seoul" means in Korean, capital only, and that the real native name of the capital city is Han-Yang.

Its population is about 300,000, one-half of which is resident within and one-half without the city walls. As regards the population of the whole empire, I find that heretofore the greatest difficulty has existed in arriving at any degree of accuracy.

Within the past two months, both from H. E. Prince Min personally, and from Herr Von Mullendorff, the Foreign Inspector of Customs at Seoul, I learn that between twelve and thirteen millions is a very fair estimate.

The three ports opened by the American treaty to foreign trade are, first in importance, Pusan, (called by Japanese Fusan, and so noted on our maps) situated on the southeast coast in latitude 35 degree, longitude 122 1/2 degree, and nearest to Japan, being but 150 miles, or fifteen hours steaming, from Nagasaki.

It has a fine bay and is easy of access. A submarine cable, said to have been ordered in England, is soon to connect Fusan with Japan, by way of the Tsushima Island, and Simonosaki, in the Island Sea.

Wen-shan, or Gen-san as it is also called, on the east coast, in latitude 38 1/2 degree, longitude 126 degree, also has a magnificent harbor about ten miles square, in front of the town, in the rear of which are beautifully wooded and extensive mountain ranges.

There are good prospects for trade at this port, it being situated in the immediate vicinity of the fur country.

The third treaty port is Ren-shan, or as it is called by the natives In-chuu, also Chemul-po, a little fishing village situated on the western coast, in latitude 37 1/2 degree, longitude 124 degree, six miles from the town of that name, which is about one-third the distance on the way to Seoul.

The mountain ranges throughout Korea are very extensive, the different ranges reaching very nearly from one end to the other, north and south, but none are higher than from one to two miles.

On the north and northwest these mountains, together with the large Yallah river, form the dividing line between Korea, China and Russia.

The kingdom is divided into eight different provinces, three being on the eastern or Japan Sea side, and five in the western or Yellow Sea portion, whilst two of them, Pieng-an and Han Kieng, extend

northerly, bordering on the Chinese Manchurian province.

These eight provinces have each a Governor, with 332 sub-provincial district magistrates or mandarins.

The monarchy is a despotism, limited only by the existence of privileged ranks and hereditary nobles. The person of the King is held in the highest reverence, and he is the object of almost divine honors, holding the powers of life and death over all his subjects.

The government is practically administered by three of the King's principal ministers, the first being called the Admirable Councillor, or Prime Minister; the second, the Councillor of the Right; the third the Councillor of the Left; these being assisted by six judges with deputies or substitutes.

And here a few words about the religion, manners, customs and caste of the Koreans. Their national religion, if it can be so termed, is undoubtedly like all their other official institutions, based upon that of China; both Buddhism and Taoism having their votaries.

In fact Korea is in many respects, I believe, just China in miniature, and there is no greater reverence paid to Confucius in the Chinese Empire than in the adjacent Peninsula.

Buddhism was introduced into Korea about the year 372 A.D., and it remained the national or official religion up to the fourteenth century, when the teachings of Confucius took a strong hold upon the people, and they are to-day the established creed of the Kingdom.

The Chinese state gods are everywhere worshipped; the literati profess the Confucian Ethics, and the sacred books of this worthy sage have been officially translated and are current and revered throughout the Empire.

Many of the large pagodas, erected during the official status of Buddhism and built in the Chinese style, still exist in different parts of the kingdom, in various degrees of preservation and of decay.

The worship of ancestors is here maintained in full force, as in China, and great importance is attached to all the details connected with funerals, mournings and tombs. The temple of Confucius, with its beautiful wooded compounds, is seen in every district.

Whilst in India the highest caste is that of the priesthood or Brahmans, the contrary is said to be the case in Korea, where the priests seem to be of a very low order and despised, holding but slight influence for good over the common people.

The French Jesuits, or Roman Catholics, have made considerable progress in this country, professing to count their converts from first to last, by scores of thousands. As far back as 1839 the Jesuits claimed to have not less than from fifty to seventy thousand devoted followers.

As might be expected, such conversions as have been claimed and effected by the Romanists could not be accomplished without bringing down the ire of the Imperial authorities, and severe persecutions have, from time to time -- descending from reign to reign -- been meted out upon these unfortunate devotees.

It has been well said, that "a Chinaman gets baptised in consideration of the worldly and material advantages which he expects to gain thereby."

The Korean, on the contrary, has nothing of the sort to expect, but only persecution, torture and often death itself. He becomes a Christian from conviction and not from any mercenary motives.

I have personally had a corroboration of this very statement, from the lips of

Protestant missionaries themselves in China.

In 1864, at the close of the Ni dynasty, which had been mild and successful, the father of the young King, (then a boy of but four or five years) who had become more and more powerful in his influence, exercised a complete control over the Imperial Council.

He suddenly instituted an unprecedented reign of terror and despotism throughout the land, throwing into prison and subsequently beheading nine of the leading French missionaries, three only escaping with their lives, and after great hardships and risks reaching China.

One of these Jesuits was Ridel, the instigator, or at least accomplice of Mr. Oppert's third and last raid, in Korea.

No less than ten thousand native Christians and sympathisers, men, women and children, were said to have been cruelly put to death by this barbarous self-acting regent (Dai-un-kun), whole villages being nearly depopulated.

Following this horrible treatment of these faithful devotees, an edict was at once issued, prohibiting the holding of the usual annual fairs at the north, as well as forbidding the import, or use in any way, of foreign manufactures, capital punishment being threatened in case of infringement of this stringent edict.

It was this same Dai-un-kun who ordered the late massacre of the members of the Japanese legation, for which Korea is now mulcted in the sum of about 500,000 yen (\$350,000) no portion of which has been paid to Japan as yet, as I was informed in April last, by the Imperial Japanese Secretary, Mr. Nagasaki.

The immediate cause of this outbreak, on the 23d of July, 1882, was said to be the fact that the soldiery in the castle at Seoul, numbering about 5,000 men, had not been paid for several months, and the usurper, Dai-un-kun, affecting to sympathize with the soldiery, gave favor and countenance to the massacre.

The Queen was thought for a long time to have been poisoned, while young King was kept in safety within the walls of the imperial barracks.

It will perhaps be remembered that at the close of the late treaty negotiations, by Com. Schufeldt with Korea, the Chinese Commissioners, Ma and Ju, through Admiral Ting, who accompanied them to Seoul, took forcible possession of this acting regent, by inviting him on board the Chinese flagship, and sailing away to Tientsin, from which port he was sent into the extreme northwestern border of China into exile.

This was probably done with the approval or, at least, with the connivance of certain members of the imperial council.

It was a bold, but doubtless thoroughly politic piece of Oriental strategy on the part of China toward its protegee, and a most righteous retribution and deserving punishment for such a ruling monster in this presentage.

This action gives a decided promise and guarantee of better management on the part of the Korean government, which is to-day ruled by the boy-king, spoken of above, now but twenty-four or twenty-five years of age, from whose enlightened reign great promise of future-benefits are justly anticipated.

The old Prince, said to be 76 years of age, was furious when he discovered the treachery of his host, and bitterly denounced him for his bad faith, and had not order in Korea been at once established, China might have brought upon herself complications which would, no doubt, have proved most embarrassing.

A well written proclamation was at once put forth by Commissioner Ma, in justification of his summary acts; and another by H. M., the young King, himself, deeply lamenting the loss of his aged father, and imploring the Emperor of China to send him back.

Both these are very interesting reading, but I have not the time to give them in full.

Suffice it to say that in a third proclamation the Emperor of China positively refuses to release the Prince, allowing only one deputy from the King of Korea to visit him in his exile once a year.

Late reports from China mention that the Dai-un-kun has recently died, after being in exile about one year.

Before leaving this part of our subject and taking up that of caste, I may men-

tion an incident in connection with the beheading of the French Jesuits by order of the Dai-un-kun, in 1866, as a matter of fact, and as confirming my belief that China seeks only to make her claim of suzerainty over Korea one of convenience.

On the occasion of Mons. Bellonnet, the French charge d'affaires in Peking, demanding satisfaction from, or through, the Chinese authorities for the murder of these nine missionaries in Korea, he was politely but firmly referred by Prince Kung directly to the King of Korea; the Prince not only professing entire ignorance of the affair, but declining all responsibility on behalf of the Chinese Government.

Accordingly, in the fall of 1866, the French Admiral Roze, with six or eight men-of-war, attempted to seek satisfaction direct from Korea, endeavoring to reach the capital Seoul, but retiring to Chefoo most unexpectedly.

The expedition proved a complete failure, and unfortunately the Dai-un-kun and his council were thereby still further confirmed in their arrogance and false estimate of their strength.

The existence of caste among the Koreans is most marked, the division being far stronger than in China, Japan, or even India; and while there caste arises chiefly from religious actions, in Korea it seems to take on a character very largely local or political.

The civil and military nobility occupy the first and second or foremost ranks after the King and royal family, who stand far above even these classes.

Then comes the third, or half-noble caste, which enjoys the right of filling the under offices, as those of secretaries, interpreters, &c.

The fourth includes the civil, or wealthier portion of the residents in cities; and fifth there is the people's caste, including all villagers, farmers, shepherds, fishermen, &c.

The lowest of all in the social scale are the bondsmen or slaves, corresponding to the former serfs in Russia, and even this class has its various divisions.

In certain rare cases, however, the King has raised to the highest rank those far below on account of some meritorious action.

The high priests reside in the capitals. The bonzes, or ordinary priests do not, as a rule, bear a good reputation, morally, as do those in the neighboring empires.

(to be continued)



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CHRONOLOGY OF ASIAN CIVILIZATIONS

